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SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF NEWCOMERS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF VEGREVILLE, ALBERTA

by

ADRIENNE L. KISKO ©

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE

IN

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF RURAL ECONOMY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING 1993

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF NEWCOMERS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF VEGREVILLE, ALBERTA submitted by ADRIENNE L. KISKO in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE in RURAL SOCIOLOGY.

(Dhara S. Gill Supervisor)

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ABSTRACT

Literature suggests that social integration tends to be studied in relation to migration and community attachment. This research focused on the integration of migrants to a small rural community in south-central Alberta. The in-migrants of interest were those who have moved to Vegreville since 1976 when a government research facility opened in the community. The research examined factors affecting the integration of the newcomers into the local social structure and their subsequent psychological attachment to the community. The results suggested that migrants whose characteristics differed significantly from those of the non-migrant population established local social networks that differed from existing networks in the community. In this case, the in-migration of a large number of urban residents initiated the development of local social networks which were indicative of urban social networks. An examination of the structure of social networks currently functioning in the community suggested that social networks tended to be dominated either long-term residents or newcomers with integretion of the migrants and non-migrants occurring in a limited number of social environments.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Social Integration of Ruralward Migrants

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the sociological factors relevant to the successful integration of in-migrants[1] into the social structure of a small rural community. Literature suggests the subject is multi-dimensional, with aspects including factors such as community characteristics, urbanization, friendship networks, kinship networks and personal characteristics of the newcomers. The indicators of social integration of newcomers are the establishment of social bonds and psychological attachment to the community.

Newcomers associated with a government facility were selected as the population of interest for this research. The intent of this research was to examine the personal characteristics and patterns of social involvement of the newcomers which facilitated their integration into the social structure of the receiving community.

Between 1976 and 1986 smaller Alberta communities (4,000 - 10,000 persons) did well in terms of population growth (Appendix IV). According to Davies & Foreman (1991) the median growth rate for towns the size of Vegreville from 1981 to 1986 was 4.8%. The growth of a number of these communities was attributed to their location being within easy commuting distance of Edmonton, Calgary, Red Deer, and Lethbridge or growth in the natural resource industry (gas, oil, pulp and paper). Bedroom communities such as Airdrie and Spruce Grove experienced the highest rate of growth overall.

The town of Vegreville was selected for this study as it experienced a rapid increase in its population between 1976 and 1982 as a result of receiving a new government research facility. Consequently the community had a large number of identifiable newcomers in its population. In addition to this, the proximity of Vegreville to Edmonton and the bedroom communities of Sherwood Park and Fort

---

[1] In this case an 'in-migrant' refers to an individual who moves to take up permanent or semi-permanent residence in a new community.

Saskatchewan provided an opportunity to examine the impact of major urban areas on the patterns of local social involvement in a smaller community located less than 100 km away.

The findings of this research may be used to assist planners, potential employers and potential migrants with sociological information on which to base decisions. The information of use to planners would relate to the long term effects of in-migration on the community. A second issue of concern to planners and also for potential employees relates to the social integration of the newcomer in the community. The ability of the newcomer to establish local social networks increases the probability that the newcomer will remain in the community and become a long-term resident. This is beneficial to employers as a low staff turnover is desirable because of costs incurred in the hiring and training of staff.

Background to the Problem

Outmigration has been a pertinent issue for rural communities since the 1940's. In rural Alberta the situation may be attributed to the dependence of rural business on the rural farm population in the immediate area as travel distance was limited by the means of transportation and the quality of the roads. More efficient means of travel resulted in a change in the patterns after the 1950's (Stabler, 1985), with rural people only buying convenience items locally and going to the nearest large centre for the bulk of their goods and services. In effect this changed the role of many smaller towns. Vegreville, like many other rural communities was affected by these changes. Initially, the town saw growth in its commercial sector as people travelled further and surrounding communities lost population and businesses.

According to Stabler (1985), over the past 20 years the number of Alberta communities having the full convenience and partial shopping classifications[2] declined by 40% (Table 1). Combined with this, it is evident that larger populations are now necessary to support the local infrastructure[3]. In 1981 nearly twice the population was required to support the same levels of local business services as were required in 1961. This suggested an increase in the number of small towns in Alberta offering only a minimum of conveniences[4]. As a result, people living in these communities travel increasingly longer distances to obtain goods and services formerly available nearby.

---

[2] Designations used by Stabler are based on the number of businesses of various types available in rural communities. Twenty-seven types of business were

TABLE 1. FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF PRAIRIE COMMUNITIES, 1961 AND 1981.

	1961					1981				
	No. of	Population		Business		No. of	Population		Business	
Type of centre	centers	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	centres	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Partial shopping	35	650	167	38.9	6.2	28	1,124	484	49.7	17.6
Full convenience	77	326	130	21.4	5.7	56	500	280	21.2	9.6
Minimal convenience	147	121	79	5.9	3.7	175	140	124	5.1	4.3

(Stabler, 1985:47)

While Stabler focuses on economic aspects of rural depopulation in his 1985 research, there are implications for the social structure of the smaller community. As people travel to larger centers to obtain goods and services, they will use the opportunity to socialize and participate in leisure activities unavailable in their home

---

categorized as providing services to consumers, services to producers, and persons employed in agricultural production, manufacturing and semi-skilled labourers.

[3] The local infrastructure would include the educational system, the health care system, businesses, community organizations and local politics.

[4] Between 1961 and 1981 the number of communities offering minimal convenience facilities increased from 147 to 175.

community. It should be noted that urbanward migration of family members has contributed to the tendency to leave the community to socialize. These linkages between distant people and places interferes with development and maintenance of local social relationships.

Increased contact of rural residents with urban people has had an impact on the social structures of rural communities. What has been observed is that the weakening of social and geographical boundaries by advances in communications and transportation has threatened the existence of the rural community as a social entity (Schwarzweller, 1979:17). The weakening of the social boundaries in the rural community is compounded by the urbanization of rural people as a result of outside influences and the ruralward migration of urban people. Schwarzweller's premise is that new residents upset the local social system because they continue to retain social networks outside the community.

Migration Streams and the Rural Community

When examining migration issues, the direction, volume and characteristics of the population are of interest. Lichter et al. (1979:646) stated that the ruralward migration stream in the United States selected younger and, more notably, better educated persons than had been observed previously. The characteristics and the volume of the migration stream impacted not only the receiving communities, but the places of origin. The research examined how the ruralward migration stream has affected small communities which were receiving the new residents.

Two observations were made with respect to the migration streams (urbanward and ruralward) from 1955 to 1970. the demographic characteristics of the two differed. Firstly, not only did the volume of migration increase, but it indicated a reversal of the traditional pattern of urbanward migration. Secondly, the demographic characteristics of the ruralward and urbanward migrants differed. According to Lichter et al. (1979) the ruralward migrants were of a lower socio-economic status than the urbanward migrants. The net effect of this in rural areas was a depletion of human resources and a weakening of the social fabric of the community.

After 1970 the migration streams showed greater similarity to one another suggesting that in-migration was partially offsetting out-migration from rural areas, which would in turn minimize the negative effects of out-migration. The recognition of this stimulated interest in promoting ruralward migration as a means of strengthening smaller communities.

Occupational Opportunities in Rural Communities

For rural communities to attract new residents, it was necessary to provide occupational opportunities that would draw people away from the urban centres. The geographical shift was facilitated by changes occurring in society at large, where advances in communications and technology allowed for the development of technology based services in more distant rural areas. The Alberta Government chose to capitalize on this by relocating (decentralizing) some of its technology based services outside of Edmonton and Calgary to make better use of human resources and reduce costs and assist in the survival of rural communities. By its definition, decentralization[5] suggests a strengthening of non-urban centers either through the dispersion or through the distribution of power away from a central location.

Dispersion of Government Services to Rural Communities

The dispersion of Government services (the movement of Government offices from large centers to smaller centers) has been used by all levels of Government as a means of balancing place prosperity[6], while retaining the political power structure. The success of these programs tends to be measured in terms of strengthening the political position of the government rather than in terms of successful relocation of people and strengthening of the receiving communities.

---

[5] In broad terms decentralization refers to a shift of power or people from a central location to outlying areas. For the purpose of this thesis, decentralization will refer to the dispersion of people (rather than power) from an urban location to a rural location.

The benefits seen as attractive in these types of situations vary. The community looks to the development as a means of attracting new residents to support and further develop the local infrastructure through an increased tax base. Depending on the nature of the decentralization, it may alleviate the problem of local under employment[7] (either directly or indirectly through the development of a secondary service industry). It is also hoped that the changes resulting from the influx of population will slow the rate of out-migration and that subsequent improvements to the local infrastructure will make the community more saleable to potential in-migrants.

In examining the social impacts of decentralization on rural communities, it is evident that the expectations of new residents and long-term residents will affect the success of the undertaking. The social changes which occur as a result of the influx of new residents are difficult to predict as they are affected by characteristics of newcomers, long-term residents and the community. Literature on the subject suggests that these differences, at least in the short-term, have the potential to create social distances which may lead to discord between the newcomers and long-term residents. In the long-term it appears that benefits accrue, and as the tenure of the newcomers lengthens, their contributions to the community and their establishment of social contacts facilitates their integration[8] into the local social structure.

---

[6] Place prosperity refers to an influx of money into a community or region which in the long term contributes to development of the infrastructure. This differs from people prosperity, which suggests that the economic situation of the individual improves. Of importance to this thesis is the understanding that place prosperity is not indicative of people prosperity.

[7] Under employment in this instance refers to people either working insufficient hours to be considered fully employed, or individuals who have taken employment outside of their field of training because jobs of that type are either non-existent or filled within the community.

Decentralization and the Turnaround Migration

It is interesting to note that the decentralization of government services in Alberta coincided with the time frame when rural sociologists were doing research on the phenomenon of ruralward migration in North America. Assuming that the sentiments of Canadians were similar to Americans regarding residential preference, it was likely that the majority of people would have preferred to live in relatively small cities, towns and rural areas (Fuguitt and Zuiches, 1975; Carpenter, 1977; DeJong, 1977). According to Schwarzweller (1979:14) most of these individuals would prefer to live in easy commuting distance to a large city. This suggests that while many people would like to live in rural areas they would prefer that these locations be adjacent to, or in close proximity to a major urban center.

The time frame when decentralization programs were initiated in Alberta suggests that they would have provided some people with the opportunity to realize their residential and lifestyle preferences (Lichter et al., 1979) without sacrificing professional aspirations. This is not to say that sacrifices were not made. Perhaps the most significant disruption which occurs when people move is the loss of social contacts and family support systems. Following a relocation there is a period of time when the individual has few social contacts within the new community. It is the passage through this stage which is critical, before workplace friendships are established and participation in community activities brings the newcomers into social contact with other community residents. Over time these contacts will contribute to the integration of the newcomer into the local social structure.

---

[8] Rieger and Beegle (1974:42) refer to the integration as the pattern of formal and informal contacts used by newcomers to form social contacts with long-term residents and the development of a social anchorage in, and identity as part of the community."

Social Integration of Newcomers

Social integration refers to the friendships and other informal social contacts the newcomer forms in the community. This is important because a low level of integration can lead to the social alienation of both in-migrants and long-term residents (Rank and Voss, 1982:198). According to Glasgow and Sofranko (1980), if the in-migrant does not become integrated into the community he/she may want to move again. Not only will individuals and their families suffer from repeated moves, but the receiving community fails to benefit from the skills and expertise of the newcomers.

Rank and Voss (1982:199) raise a number of questions which are pertinent to this research.

1. "Do newcomers identify with and contribute to their new places of residence?"
2. "What, if any, differences exist between the patterns of community involvement by recent migrants and longer-term residents ("old-timers")?"
3. "What are the consequences of involvement on both the individual and community level?"

(Rank and Voss, 1982:199)

These questions are pertinent to the case of Vegreville, where data suggests that the characteristics of newcomers may differ from those of long-term residents. These differences have the potential to socially distance[9] long-term residents and newcomers, increasing the length of time it would take for the newcomers to develop local ties outside of the workplace. Taking this into consideration, strategies used by newcomers to gain social acceptance within the community are of interest. Of equal interest is how integration and its impact on the community social structure has been viewed by newcomers and long-term residents.

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[9] This refers to the social distance between newcomers and long-term residents. It relates to the interests and involvement of people within the community. The rate of integration will be affected by the availability of activities of mutual interest which would bring them into contact.

The research hopes to provide some insights as to how ruralward migrants stimulated by decentralization become integrated into a community and determine what factors are predictors of social integration.

Problem Statement

The majority of the research on decentralization has focused on economic benefits. To date there has been limited documentation regarding the social integration of individuals involved in a large scale ruralward migration such as that which occurred in Vegreville. This lack of information has several consequences; one is that processes of social integration are poorly understood by newcomers, making transitions stressful. Secondly, there is limited understanding in the receiving community of the social benefits resulting from the rapid integration of newcomers.

A large scale in-migration also affects long-term residents as the local social structure and community infrastructure change to accommodate the newcomers (Bowles, 1981; Price et al., 1980). The difficulties experienced by long-term residents in times of rapid growth may be as severe as those experienced by the newcomers. The problems may include increased costs to allow for expansion of the local infrastructure, decline in social status, loss of social position in the community and an increased incidence of social problems. The changes may lead to resentment of the newcomers which could manifest itself in the alienation of segments of both the newcomer and long-term resident populations.

The significance of social integration in the midst of social change in the community needs to be examined to identify how newcomers succeed in establishing social relationships which anchor them to the community and increase the likelihood that they will remain in the community as long-term residents.

Objectives

The objective of this thesis is to examine the processes by which newcomers become socially integrated in a smaller rural community following a career related relocation.

Specific objectives of this research include:

1. To identify personal characteristics of newcomers and long-term residents of Vegreville which would affect social integration.
2. To examine patterns of interaction which contribute to the integration of newcomers into the social structure of the community.

Research Design and Methods

To achieve the research objectives several methods for the collection of data were identified. A self-administered questionnaire together with individual interviews to provide substantive information on attributes and attitudes of newcomers and long-time residents were used. A cross-sectional study was conducted using two randomly selected sample groups (of individuals 18 years of age or older); the first were individuals associated with the Alberta Environmental Centre who moved to the community within the past 15 years and the second from the general (non-migrant) population of Vegreville.

Interviews were used to verify results of the quantitative research. This approach enabled the researcher to gain insights into demographic characteristics and response frequencies. It also allowed for the validation of quantitative data in relation to actions and consequences of respondents to stimuli in the community.

Limitations

In preparing this study there were limits set due to time constraints or factors beyond the control of the researcher. One factor which will not be directly addressed is the economic impact of a large population increase on a small community. It was recognized that economic strains on the community during its growth period would influence the development of attitudes toward the newcomers. Omitting this subject from the thesis has not been done to relegate the economic issues to insignificance, but rather to emphasize the sociological issues which contribute to social integration.

A second limitation was the willingness of individuals to cooperate with the researcher in providing data for this study. The return rate served as an indication of co-operation for the self-administered questionnaire. These respondents also indicated their willingness to assist the researcher by participating in an individual interview.

Issues relating to reliability[10] and validity[11] are relevant to the sample selection and sample size, but these are addressed in the body of the thesis (Chapter 4). In essence the objective of the researcher is to produce a measurement instrument which through repeated use will measure variables seen as important to the problem identified.

---

[10] Reliability refers to the quality of the measurement used. If the measurement instrument is reliable it should be possible to obtain the same results each time it is used to measure the same phenomenon (Babbie, 1989:G6).

[11] Validity refers to the how accurately the measurement instrument reflects the concept it is intended to measure. This accuracy may be reflective of face validity, criterion validity, content validity, construct validity, internal validity and/or external validity (Babbie, 1989:G8)

Outline of the Thesis

The ensuing chapters of this thesis have been arranged to facilitate an understanding of the subject. Chapter 2, *Theoretical Framework*, examines theoretical and conceptual literature relevant to this research. Chapter 3 focuses on the town of Vegreville, with attention given to the development of its social and cultural structures. The research methods used are discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents the results of the research and discusses the findings in general terms. The quantitative data and qualitative data are integrated in Chapter 6, in the form of a discussion and summary of the findings. The final chapter is used to draw conclusions from the research and identify implications of integration on newcomers and the community.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

A literature review was conducted at the onset of the research process. Using *Sociofile*, a computer database program through *Silverplatter*, a number of topics were explored to determine the scope of information available on the subject of integration of newcomers in small (rural) communities. The search yielded information under the key words community, community development, community participation, newcomers, social integration, rural, ruralization, and migration. Suitable literature was identified through this process.

Contextual Basis for Theoretical Consideration

Between 1976 and 1981 Alberta had approximately 105 towns[12]. By 1981 most towns were experiencing increases in population (Appendix IV), with 75 of them growing faster than the provincial average (2.8%). The extent of the growth (due to in-migration) in the communities varied, dependent upon the resource base. Agricultural service communities[13] experienced a lower growth rate than the single industry towns and dormitory towns[14].

Vegreville is an example of an agricultural service community, offering a variety of services necessary for crop and livestock production and other essential services (schools, health care, shopping, legal services). Industry in the community tends to be agriculturally based and for the most part is on a small scale. Travelling distance to Edmonton (90 km) suggests that it is unlikely to attract daily commuters. The growth which has occurred in the past two decades is largely attributed to the expansion of government services located in the town. Of these, the Alberta Environmental Centre is the largest facility, but Vegreville has a host of provincial government offices including: Alberta Agriculture, Attorney General, Energy and Natural Resources, Public Works Supply and Services, Medical Examiner, Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, Social Services, the Solicitor General and Transportation. At the federal level there is the Post Office, Agriculture Canada (Research Station) and the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration (PFRA).

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[12] Communities having populations of 1,000 to 10,000 (Hodge, 1983).

[13] Agricultural service communities or "trade" centres are communities where agricultural producers can deal with a concentration of implement dealers, bulk fuel dealers and other agricultural suppliers. In most cases there would also be functional linkages to health services and educational facilities.

[14] Dormitory or bedroom communities lie within easy commuting distance of a major urban centre. Examples of these in Alberta include Fort Saskatchewan (Edmonton) and Cochrane (Calgary).

The number of government offices is of particular interest, because these offices employ a large number of persons within the community. The importance of this lies in the contribution the employees make to the economy and social structure of the community. Because the motivation for attracting government offices tends to be economically based, there is a trend to marginalize the effect of population change on the local social structure. The impact of in-migration related to government expansion causes disruptions to the community infrastructure. The difficulties experienced vary from one situation to another, as the structure of the community is disrupted by the influx of people.

A number of sociological theories appear to be both relevant and applicable in examining the social processes which occur when an individual migrates to a new community. Three lines of inquiry will be examined in relation to Vegreville. The first body of theories of interest are those defining community and community attachment. The second is migration theory, as Vegreville experienced an influx of new residents. The third group of theories, which are related to the theories on community attachment and migration pertain to social integration.

Community as a Social Concept

According to Wilkinson (1986:1) "Community is the most appealing concept in sociology." At the same time, the meaning of *community* is elusive. In Webster's Dictionary (1988), *community* refers to "a locality where people reside; people having common interests: the public, or people in general; common possession or interest." The first part of Webster's definition refers to the community in a physical and spacial sense, that is, its geographical boundaries. The second part approximates a sociological definition, in which *community* is seen as a place where people live within a defined locality over a period of time. Within the geographical limits of the community the people carry out their individual and collective common interests as part of a social system (Freudenburg, 1982). The discrepancies between the definitions reflect the diversity in perception.

The Community as a Social Field

A community may be described as a generalized "locality oriented social field[15]" (Wilkinson, 1972:43), with *community development*[16] referring to any actions directed toward positively altering its structure. These actions are generalized among different organized and unorganized interest groups in the community. Changes to the social structure of the community are seen as positive (Wilkinson, 1972) when they increase the generalization of residents' structural orientation[17], and meet peoples' needs (Wilkinson, 1986). In view of these contexts, development of the community through integrative activities of people provides a basis for the examination of how people integrate into the social structure of the community, and in doing so how they stimulate further community development.

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[15] "A social field describes a "processes of interaction through time, with direction toward some more or less distinctive outcome and with constantly changing elements and structure"." (Wilkinson, 1970:317). This definition considers groups (such as the newcomers), organizations and communities as social fields.

[16] Theory related to community examines the interaction between social fields in relation to their impact on the social structure of the community.

[17] The behaviours of all players in the community field are relevant to the structure although they may have little awareness of their part in its order. Other players may be aware of the structure and will purposefully manipulate it to satisfy their own interests.

Theories on Community

Several theories are present in the literature on community. Of these, community attachment theory was seen as appropriate for use in this thesis. It offers sufficient flexibility for the inclusion of other sociological concepts in explaining the process of how people form attachments within a community.

Linear-development Model

Numerous authors have written on communities, notably, Toennies (1887), Durkheim (1893), Simmel (1902), and Wirth (1938). Their writings provided a foundation for what Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) were to refer to as the *linear-development model*. This model assumes that population size and density are the main factors influencing social behaviour. According to its proponents, any changes which occur are due to the disruptive effects of an increased population base. As a consequence of this, ties to kin and friends are expected to weaken as urbanization takes place. Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) refuted the speculation of early authors on community and instead stated that population size and density were not significant in determining community attachment because they neglected the influence of social position, length of residence and life cycle stage of the individual (Park, 1921: Burgess, 1925: Stinner et al. 1990). They went on to describe what is now referred to as the *systemic model of community attachment*.

Systemic Model of Local Community

The systemic model minimizes the influence of community size (Stinner et al., 1990) and instead emphasizes the length of residence, social position and stage in the individual's life cycle as being the main indicators of a person's attachment to community (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974). This is now the more commonly used theory in relation to community attachment (Goudy, 1990; Laedwig and McCann, 1980; Stinner et al., 1990). The systemic model is more flexible than the linear model in that it sees the community as part of society, which in turn involves networks of friends and family and formal and informal ties. Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) identified length of residence in a community as the most important variable, with occupation/social status and age contributing. Most notably, they state that:

> The local community is viewed as an ongoing system of social networks into which new generations and new residents are assimilated, while the community itself passes through its own life-cycle. Since assimilation of newcomers into the social fabric of local communities is necessarily a temporal process, residential mobility operates as a barrier to the development of extensive friendship and kinship bonds and widespread associational ties. Once established, though such bonds strengthen community sentiments.
>
> (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974:330)

Kasarda and Janowitz's research found that length of residence is very important in relationship to local social attachment because the number of friends and family members within the community (and nearby) increases over time. Goudy agrees with this in stating,

> ...length of residence is predicted to be the most important variable among those in the systemic model. In rural areas, time spent in the locale remains a way to integrate within the local social system, one that may transcend social position in the value systems of small communities.
>
> (Goudy, 1990:181)

The exception Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) identified in relation to the impact of length of residency on community attachment was in terms of participation in informal activities in the community. It was noted that participation in informal organizations declines over time which may be explained by the age and life cycle stages. They also indicated that social status and age were important, with higher status individuals having more friends and family residing away from the community. Despite this, these individuals were involved in more formal organizations (Rank and Voss, 1982) at the community level, indicating that higher status individuals place greater emphasis on formal and secondary social networks available to them within the community of residence.

Social Networks in Rural Communities

Friendship networks and their density are related most strongly to the length of residence in a community and the stage of the family life cycle. Fischer acknowledges this by stating that,

> ...the essential concern for students of community is this. What shapes relations, and what consequences do different relations produce? For example, what types of people, living where, living when, turn to kin or to friends or to professional associates for various kinds of aid, or advice, or companionship? What difference does it make to individuals, or their families, or their society if their relations involve largely kin or largely non-kin, people nearby or people far away, culturally similar or culturally dissimilar associates.
>
> (Fischer, 1982:2)

This suggests that individual characteristics lead people to utilize numerous sources when seeking to establish social contacts. They may include family, friends or associates depending upon the nature of the contact desired and the accessibility of the individual's personal friendship network. It also suggests that choices for social contact are personal in nature and will vary considerably because these choices are dependent on personal characteristics. Applying this in an urban setting, Fischer (1982) stated that individuals, rather than being socially isolated, actually had more highly specialized friendship networks to meet their personal needs. Within this context, strangers have little or no impact. Consequently *community* has little impact on the existence of friendship networks.

Applying this to the non-urban setting, it would seem likely that the social contacts of rural residents would not be substantially different from those of individuals living in urban communities. The implication for smaller communities is that as the size of the community decreases, the potential for appropriate or suitable social contacts and contexts decline. In effect this may limit the ability of the individual to build a local friendship network if he or she is culturally different from the average person in the community of residence. These circumstances would initiate the development of more distant intimate relationships, suggesting that larger community size, rather than hindering the development of close relationships, facilitates them due to the diversity of the people found there.

Simmel (1950) and Wirth (1938) had a different view of social interaction in urban settings. They argued that the constant contact urban residents have with other people forces them to be more guarded in their personal relationships and encounters with other persons than non-urban residents would be. Fischer (1982) did not agree. His argument was that urban people were not socially isolated and instead were more involved with friends than residents of small communities, the reason for this being that there is a tendency to build personal networks composed of people who share common characteristics and/or interests. A larger community offered a better environment for this, because as the number of potential contacts increased, the probability of finding people with like interests and backgrounds increased. This being the case, small communities may be socially limiting for newcomers who are socially different from the long-term residents, making it more difficult for them to identify and cultivate appropriate social contacts at the local level.

Fischer (1982) argued that public familiarity (the number of individuals who are recognised when out in public) expressed in smaller communities is not indicative of social intimacy. While many people may be recognised, only a small number may actually be known, indicating that the effect of community size on intimacy is minimal. What is important is the relationship between the network density and the multistrandedness of the relationships[18].

Organizational Participation

Theories on community attachment frequently refer to organizational participation and the formation of local friendships. The importance of organizational membership varies between individuals, but it does offer the individual a controlled opportunity to associate with other people holding similar interests and values. In this way some people utilize organizational membership as a means of developing their primary social contacts. Other individuals see it only as a part of their social involvement.

Goudy (1990) suggests that organization membership is an important component in bonding the individual to the community and that individuals who are active become more attached to the community. People who are active within local organizations would have the opportunity to develop more primary (non-kin) relationships within the community. Socio-economic factors are important in predicting who will be active in organizations. Higher social and economic standing increases the likelihood of participation. This being the case, it might be expected that Vegreville would have a high level of newcomer participation in its organizations because of the socio-economic status of persons associated with the research and other administrative facilities (Stinner et al., 1990).

Community Demographics

An understanding of this may be clarified by examining some of the work of Riger and Lavrakas (1981), who suggested that there are four sociodemographic groups which may be found in communities. The importance of the groupings is that in part they take into account characteristics of households rather than of the individual. By combining this with information on individuals, results of research can be more predictive of activity in the community of residence. The groupings not only include information regarding age, but the groupings also reflect stages in the family cycle. The categories are *Young Mobiles*, *Young Participants*, *Isolates* and *Established Participants*. The *young mobiles* are well educated young adults without children who are active in community organizations. The *young participants*, while similar to the *young mobiles* in terms of participation in community organizations differ from them in that they have a family and a more established residence. *Isolates* are older adults with children at home; while physically established in the community they have little social contact with others in the community. The *established participants* are older adults with children at home who are active participants in community organizations and are committed to the community as their permanent place of residence. In this case children act as an incentive to interact socially with others rather than limit outside contacts (Stinner et al., 1990).

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[18] Multistrandedness refers to the number of different ways one individual is involved with another. Community size is a factor in that as the number of people the individual has contact with diminishes, each person becomes better known. This should not be taken as indicating that intense relationships are the result because contacts may not satisfy the individual's social needs.

The combination of these factors contributes to the level of satisfaction the individual feels in relation to their membership in a community. Overall, older, married persons are more satisfied with their community of residence and exhibit a stronger sense of attachment to the community than younger persons who are at earlier stages in the family cycle (Stinner et al., 1990).

Migration Theory

Migration is accepted as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. The move may be voluntary or involuntary and may involve a long or short distance. Several theories of migration predominate. The two that have the most relevance to this thesis are by Ravenstein (1885) and Lee (1966).

Ravenstein, working in Britain in the late 19th century, was one of the earliest writers on the subject of migration. His observations led him to identify seven laws of migration. While changes occurring within society have affected the applicability of some of the laws identified by Ravenstein (most notably in relation to gender) others remain useful in providing an explanation of current human migration patterns.

Migration by Stages

The first law of migration states that most migrants prefer to move short distances. These migrants usually move to the larger centers to take advantage of occupational opportunities. The second law states that migration occurs in stages. While less evident in highly industrialized countries, this type of migration is still very much in evidence in developing nations, where people are displaced and set off in a direction of migration, which over a series of short moves will take them to the industrial centers for employment. This is seen as a migration stream, with people making a series of short moves from small places to slightly larger places until they reach a major centre.

Migration Streams and Counterstreams

Another component of Ravenstein's laws are the migration streams and counterstreams, which are in progress at all times. What is observed is a main stream of migrants moving in one direction and a smaller (counter) stream moving in the opposite direction. The stimulus for the counterstream differs from that of the main stream.

Streams and counterstreams are both important as changes in their relative proportions are indicative of other societal changes. Canada was one country which exhibited a change in its migration streams between rural and urban centres. The growth in the rural migration stream was noted in the 1970's and numerous researchers such as Wardwell (1980), Schwarzweller (1979), Lichter (1979) and others working in the United States began to document the phenomenon.

The main (traditional) migration stream was associated with the industrialization of agriculture and the availability of employment in urban centres which led to an urbanward movement of people. In Canada the exodus of people from rural areas was recognized as early as 1910 in the maritime provinces. With the rural population of the Canadian prairies increasing simultaneously, the loss of rural population in eastern Canada was not seen as an immediate cause for concern, as rural people were being absorbed by industry. The rate of rural out-migration increased in the 1940's across Canada (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1960) and from 1950 to 1960 it was estimated that agricultural industrialization lead to the migration of 40% of agricultural labourers to rural and urban communities in search of employment.

The change in the migration stream began in the 1960's, but was so subtle initially that it went largely unnoticed. The increase in the ruralward migration stream indicated that other factors were at work, leading people to make conscious decisions to relocate in smaller communities. This of course had numerous impacts on the rural communities as they began to experience a growth in their populations.

The concept is important to this thesis, because the migration of people to Vegreville (and other small communities) is counter to the main migration stream which has seen the movement of people from the rural areas to the urban centers. The time frame in which this occurred in Vegreville is of particular interest as it occurred at a time when a turnaround migration[19] was being noted by demographers (Lichter et al., 1979; Beesley and Bowles, 1991).

Migration streams have a number of impacts on communities. First, it is recognised that the streams affect the population composition of both the sending and receiving communities. This can have an impact on the relative advantages and disadvantages of each as a consequence of age, gender, educational and occupational characteristics of the migrants and non-migrants. Most notable is that the main migration stream has been composed of younger and better educated adults (Wardwell, 1977) migrating from rural areas to major centers, leaving an older resident population in rural communities (Lichter et al., 1979). Wardwell's (1977) research indicated that the characteristics of the stream and counterstream migrants had become increasingly similar over time suggesting that push and pull factors that stimulated migration decisions were undergoing changes. This was suggestive of Ravenstein's law concerning the propensity to migrate in certain directions. Potential reasons for ruralward migration include the increasing urbanization of rural areas, environmental reasons, quality of life reasons and availability of occupational opportunities in rural areas.

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[19] The turnaround migration that was noted by demographers in the 1970's and 1980's was in actuality a counterstream migration. In fact this migration had been going on for a number of years until the number of individuals involved became sufficiently large to warrant notice. It should be noted that this migration stream from urban to rural areas was not just a North American phenomenon, and was occurring on a worldwide basis.

Gender Differentials and Migration

Ravenstein also documented a gender differential for migrants with women tending to migrate short distances for employment and men tending to migrate longer distances. While this may be true to a limited degree in industrialized societies, the characteristics of the sending and receiving communities would have changed, with both likely to be urban. The distance women migrate compared to the distance men migrate is more likely to be dependent on the educational and occupational opportunities available to them. As career opportunities for women become more similar to those of men, women will likely exhibit migration patterns similar to those of men to facilitate career advancements.

Effects of Technology on Migration

Ravenstein also noted that technology accelerated the rate of urbanward migration because of the demand for labour in industrial centers. This is of interest in the North American context because the reduced population remaining on the farms and in rural areas in this century represented a smaller source for semi-skilled labour that was utilized in the industrial centres. The more recent shift of industry to rural areas as a result of technological improvements has slowed the urbanward migration in some areas. Vegreville is an example of a situation, where communication linkages have allowed information-based technology to function from a decentralized location. This has allowed some people to migrate to rural communities, while giving others the option of remaining in their community of origin because of the availability of employment opportunities.

Economic Incentives and the Decision to Migrate

The recurrent theme in Ravenstein's laws is that migrants are economically driven. This suggests that people move in order to provide themselves and their families with better economic and social situations. Thus people move to locales where employment in their area of specialization is available. Earlier in this century the growth of industry in the urban areas provided people with better paying jobs than were available in rural areas, causing people to move in an urbanward direction. Now, with the trend to move businesses out of urban centres to areas where labour is available and costs are lower, there is an increasing incentive for segments of the population to move in a ruralward direction.

Push and Pull Factors Affecting Migration Decisions

Modern migration theory, specifically that related to ruralward migration, suggests that the decision to migrate and become established in a new community involves a multitude of factors. In brief, it recognizes that the movement of people from one locale to another is selective. Lee noted that whenever migration occurs there is an origin, a destination and a set of intervening obstacles. His laws of migration state that certain people will move as a result of what are referred to as *push* and *pull* factors. For migration to occur, the factors attracting the potential migrant to the new community need to outweigh the push factors at the point of origin. If this does not occur, the individual(s) will seek alternate employment opportunities at the point of origin or make the decision to commute from the point of origin to the workplace. Lee (1966) organized the *push/pull* factors into four categories.

1. Factors associated with the area of origin.
2. Factors associated with the area of destination.
3. Intervening obstacles.
4. Personal factors.

(Lee, 3:50:1966)

Using Lee's categories it may be possible to offer some insights into the long-term residential relocation of individuals who chose to migrate when the place of employment is moved from an urban community to a rural one. Lee made a number of arguments, the first is that migration is selective. People who migrate are not randomly selected from the population. Those who move have certain characteristics which allow them to overcome intervening obstacles preventing migration. Usually a deciding factor in this is that the place of destination offers more advantages and fewer disadvantages than the place of origin. In general, in modern society highly educated people are more residentially mobile in order to take advantage of distant occupational opportunities.

Distance needs to be mentioned as it is the most frequently studied obstacle to a move. It may be problematic to some people due to the economic costs inherent in relocating. For others, distance may be an obstacle because it removes them from the protection of their social support system. In either case, whether or not it becomes a formidable barrier is dependent upon the individual.

Residential mobility is also related to the person's stage in the life cycle, as it has been observed that people are more likely to migrate at certain stages in their lives. In our society young people leave home to gain an advanced education or seek employment. As marital status changes and people start their family, the propensity to move declines until children are ready to leave home.

Lee's last point is that the personal characteristics of out-migrants differ from those of the population at the origin and at their destination. Potential migrants share characteristics of each population, but those who migrate will have more in common with the population at the destination. The extent of those differences will affect the quality of the host community (Lee, 1966).

Social Integration

It is questionable whether *social integration* should be referred to as a theory or a typology[20]. For the purposes of this research it is more appropriate to consider social integration as a typology, where it serves as a classification scheme to examine characteristics that are of importance in integration following migration.

Social integration tends to be studied in relation to community attachment and migration, as it is a process which occurs following migration. Rieger and Beegle (1974) refer to integration as a dimension of assimilation. They examined the social contacts made between newcomers and long-term residents of the community. Their research examined the participation of newcomers in formal and informal organizations which contributed to the *social psychological anchorage* of the individual in the community.

Stinner and Van Loon (1990) provide a loose framework for social integration which contributes to Rieger and Beegle's research. Although their subject was "community attachment" they acknowledged that there were "behavioral, structural and perceptual linkages of individuals to their community of residence" (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974:495; Goudy, 1990). Stinner and Van Loon selected three concepts as important to community attachment. These were *involvement,* the participation in the community field; *amity,* the degree to which the individuals become involved in the local friendship structures; and *sentiment,* the way the individual sees and feels about the community.

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[20] A typology refers to the classification of nominal observations in terms of their attributes on two or more variables. (Babbie, 1989:G8). Typologies may be used to form parts of theories. The most common examples used are Durkheim's types of social organization (mechanical and organic) used in his theory of the division of labour.

Social integration points to characteristics that contribute either negatively or positively to an individual becoming comfortable in the community and feeling a positive sense of attachment to the community. Social integration should not be seen only in a temporal sense. While length of residence in a community is a factor (level of integration does increase over time) it is not the sole indicator of how the individual fits socially. Social integration is individual in character, with each person having a different potential. While time is certainly important, a person who is more socially aggressive is more likely to become integrated in a shorter time than an individual who is less aggressive. As well, there is a cyclical element to social participation, in that it increases over the first few years the individual resides in the community and then declines to a *maintenance* level for the long term.

The other variables most commonly noted of importance for social integration are socioeconomic status, family life cycle stage, religion and home ownership.

Socio-Economic Status and Social Integration

The socio-economic status of the individual is an important indicator in the social integration of the individual after migration. Studies indicate that migrants of higher socio-economic status (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Goudy, 1990) adapt more readily to a new environment, with higher educational attainment being related to this (Rieger and Beegle, 1974). Related to this is the similarity between the personal characteristics of the newcomer and the long term residents. If personal characteristics of the newcomer are not compatible with those of long-term migrants it may be necessary for them to acquire new social skills in order to fit into the local social structure.

The size of the sending and receiving communities are also relevant for social integration as they affect the rate of integration. Rieger and Beegle (1974) noted that people moving to a smaller receiving community integrate more quickly than migrants moving to a larger centre. An examination of individuals migrating to smaller communities suggests that they may be at a social advantage when they migrate because they tend to be better educated and of a higher socio-economic status. The rate of integration is also accelerated because these individuals tend to exhibit a high level of social participation (Rank and Voss, 1982) through involvement in formal and informal local organizations.

Family Cycle Effects on Social Integration

The family cycle is also a determinant in the rate of social integration because it establishes social priorities. Children are of particular importance because in the early stages of development they may restrict the social contacts of the parents. During these years, social contacts in the community may be limited to those in the workplace. As the children reach school age there are more incentives for the parents to become actively involved in organizations which impact on the social and educational well-being of their children. This is exemplified by participation in home and school type associations, sports activities and cultural programs (Stinner et al., 1990).

As the parents age and the children mature and leave home, the social choices that the parents make change from situations where the children are the focus to social situations where their personal desires are expressed. In general, as people age, their involvement in informal social activities declines, although they may remain active in formal organizations.

Organizational membership has been identified as important to the integration of newcomers in the community. The participation rate is related to income. According to Kasarda and Janowitz:

> Higher status individuals tend to have small proportions of their friends and relatives residing within their own communities and fewer relatives living nearby. They also tend to belong to more formal organizations in the community. Both these links reflect the greater mobility of higher status individuals and their more extensive reliance on formal or secondary social networks.
>
> (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974:333)

This supports the premise that not only are higher status in-migrants more self reliant in new social situations, but they are more likely to initiate social contacts than newcomers who have family or friends residing in the community. Because of the skills these individuals possess, they are likely to become involved in formal organizations and use these organizations as a focal point for cultivating social contacts. It is useful to note that these skills are not only essential for higher status individuals, but they are likely to use these same skills repeatedly. Being more residentially mobile they will take advantage of opportunities for occupational advancement. The development and honing of these skills will make future moves less socially disruptive.

Implications for Research

The literature review identified a number of variables of importance to the study of the social integration of newcomers in a small community. Consideration of information on the systemic model of community indicated that the length of residence, social position and the stage of the individual's life cycle were important variables for the establishment of social ties in a community. Applying this information to the case of higher status migrants to Vegreville suggested that the following hypotheses should be considered.

Hypothesis #1: Newcomers possess different personal characteristics than long-term residents.

Hypothesis #2: Newcomers are less likely than long-term residents to have local kinship ties.

Hypothesis #3: Newcomers have more geographically diverse friendship networks than long-term residents.

Hypothesis #4: Participation in formal and informal organizations assists newcomers in establishing social networks in the community.

Hypothesis #5: Integration into the local social structure contributes to an individual's desire to remain in the community.

The testing of these hypotheses through the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data will provide information on the processes by which higher-status migrants to a small community establish social contacts and develop local friendship networks.

III. VEGREVILLE

Introduction

Vegreville is a rural community undergoing change. It was traditionally an agricultural trade centre[21], but is now showing the influences of urbanization. Originally its economy was based on agriculture and related industries, but with increased efficiencies in agriculture there has been pressure to diversify the economy.

Improvements to transportation and communications have influenced both the opportunities and lifestyle available to Vegreville residents. Diversification of the local economy has provided its residents with occupational opportunities with salaries comparable to those offered in urban areas. This has contributed to a standard of living comparable to that of people living in urban areas, while offering a lifestyle more characteristic of a rural area (Baker, 1992).

History of the Community

Vegreville has a long history as an ethnically diverse community. It's name is attributed to its beginnings as a French settlement, with the name commemorating a Roman Catholic Missionary, Father Valentin Vegreville. The name 'Vegreville', first used in 1895, was selected as a tribute to the Oblate Fathers of St. Albert who assisted the original French colonists.

The current townsite of Vegreville is actually the second location (Figure 1). The "old" Vegreville was situated four and one half miles southwest of the current location. The move occurred in 1905 when the railway was built north of the original townsite. Recognizing the benefits of the proximity of the railway, local businessmen relocated. Any buildings that could be transferred were put on skids or wheels and transported to the new location. The 'new' Vegreville was incorporated as a village in April of 1906 and then as a town in August of 1906.

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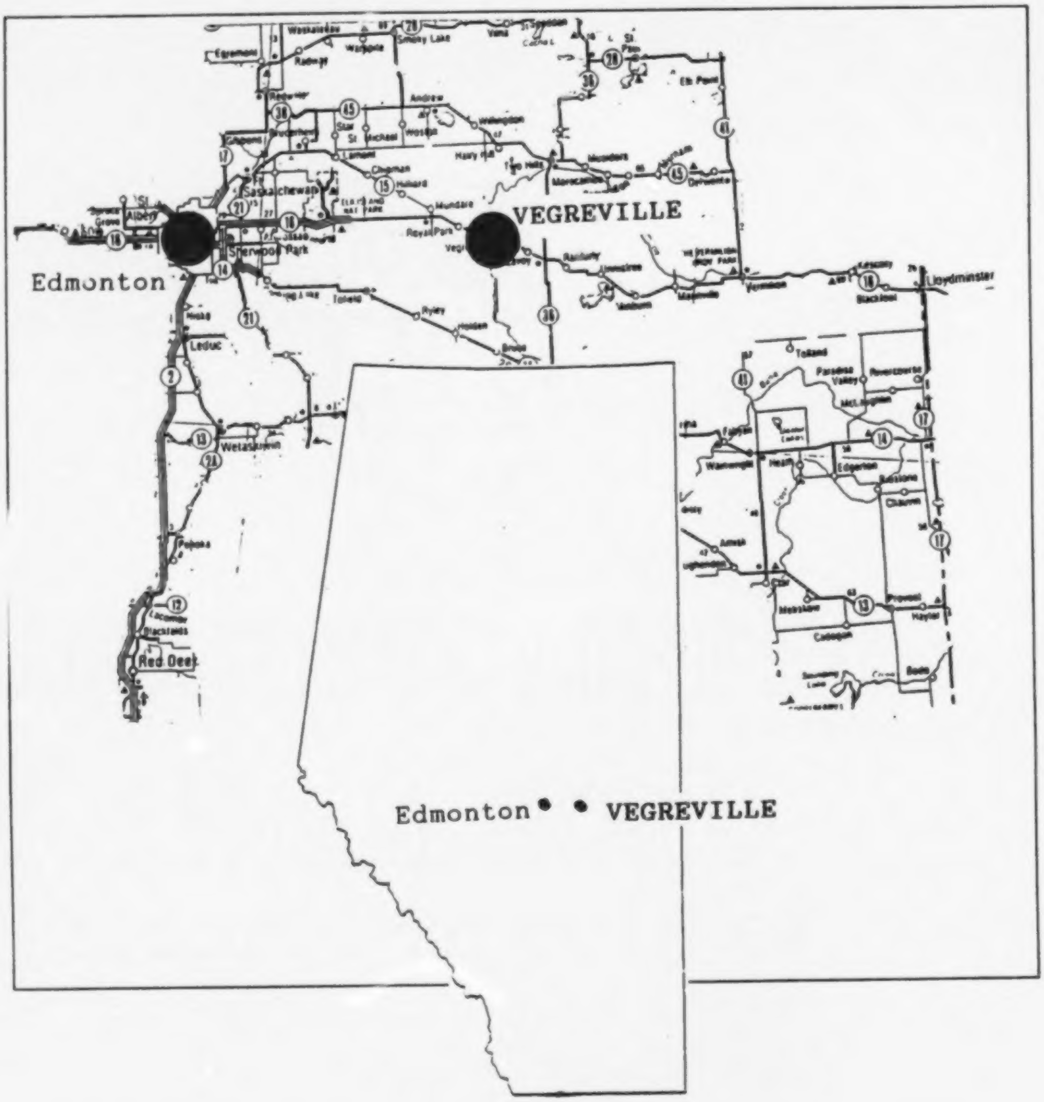
[21] A rural community with a full convenience and partial shopping designation which provides services to agricultural producers and residents in the adjacent area. In addition to this, it would provide health care services and educational facilities. (Stabler, 1985)

FIGURE 1. LOCATION OF VEGREVILLE



Ruralward Migration and Vegreville

Research indicated that during the 1970's rural communities in North America underwent changes to their economic bases and social structures (Cook, 1987; Adamchak, 1987; Williams and Sofranko, 1979). Beesley and Bowles (1991) suggested two processes contributing to ruralward migration. The first was the trend toward decentralization, with community growth being attributed to economic expansion and technological advances. The second process was counter urbanization[22], which contributed to the population increase and subsequent development of a new urban social form in rural areas.

The first concept considered has merit with respect to the growth of Vegreville. The development of the Alberta Environmental Centre, a government decentralization project was feasible for Vegreville because technological improvements to communications made it possible for the research facility to function outside of an urban centre. It improved local economic conditions by providing employment opportunities with salaries comparable to those in Edmonton. However, this only provided a partial explanation for the growth of the population of Vegreville, as newcomers associated with the Alberta Environmental Centre only comprised 3.2% of the population in 1986 (Davies & Foreman, 1991).

The second concept, counterurbanization, lends itself to explanations within the field theory perspective of community development. The impact of newcomers in Vegreville had an impact on the social structure which was greater than their numbers would have suggested. As newcomers became social actors within the community they knowingly or unknowingly modified the existing structure through their behaviours. The urban origins of newcomers introduced urban patterns of social interaction to the community which ultimately affected the social structure of Vegreville.

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[22] Counter urbanization is described by Beesley and Bowles (1991:40) as an independent growth pattern which is not related to the growth of metropolitan areas or their commuting areas. Instead they suggest that it represents a break down of the urban structure.

Vegreville as a Social Field

Vegreville, as a community, is considered a *locality oriented social field* (Wilkinson, 1972). It is composed of organized and unorganized interest groups and individuals who interact with one another over time, leading to distinctive outcomes considered positive for the community. This occurs in conjunction with changing elements and structures (Wilkinson, 1970). The outcomes of the interactions are not predictable as they are subject to forces inside and outside the community, but their purpose is to benefit the community. Data on Vegreville suggests the social structure has changed as a result of economic development attracting new residents. The most notable change has been the nature of local friendship networks. With many of the newcomers having urban origins, they introduced their social forms and values when they migrated. This has contributed to Vegreville exhibiting the social characteristics of "a dispersed city where behaviour patterns and values are fundamentally similar to those in cities" (Beesley and Bowles, 1991).

The Revitalization of Vegreville

During the late 1970's the business structure of the community began to change in response to changing consumer demands in the town. With the farm population declining in response to falling agricultural commodity prices and restructuring of the agricultural industry the role of Vegreville as a service centre became less important as agriculturally based businesses contracted and underwent consolidation.

All local business were affected. Local shops found that they were no longer able to compete effectively with the stores in Edmonton. As a result local shop owners on retiring tended to dispose of their inventory and close their stores rather than selling to new entrepreneurs. This further limited the selection available, increasing the likelihood that people would leave the community to shop, triggering a cyclical decline in the number of locally owned businesses.

In some cases locally owned businesses were replaced by franchise operations and chain stores that supplied the same goods and services. The food industry still has a strong local component with only three franchises operating. These are Big T, Kentucky Fried Chicken and Smitty's. The remaining restaurants are locally operated. In the hardware sector local businesses have largely been replaced by Canadian Tire, Peavy Mart, and Home Hardware although a privately owned hardware store previously located in Innisfree (25 miles east) has relocated in Vegreville. Their presence in the community has reduced the competition as small local firms were unable to take advantage of the bulk purchasing discounts from wholesalers available to the new businesses. Consumer attitudes were also a factor as people moving into Vegreville were more likely to purchase from franchises because they are familiar and do considerable advertising. As a result, Vegreville now has fewer locally owned businesses in some market segments.

In response to an increased interest in continuing education Lakeland College opened an administrative office and classroom space in Vegreville to provide opportunities for upgrading at the secondary and post-secondary levels. Most recently the College has been sharing space with the Caritas Centre in the former Hospital Nurse's Residence. Continued use of this space is subject to expiry of the lease and a pending purchase of the Residence and Peter Svarich School. Richard Keaton International Schools have put in a bid to purchase these two facilities and the school in Lavoy (9 miles east of Vegreville) for use as a residential school for students from Hong Kong seeking their education in Alberta.

Government services in the community have also expanded. Vegreville has had an Agriculture Canada Research Station located just east of town since 1955. The facility, which focused its research on solonetzic soils has expanded in the past ten years, adding both staff and buildings. In 1988 the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration moved out of its office in town and moved into the new Agriculture Canada facility.

Government Decentralization in Vegreville

Alberta provides numerous examples of the decentralization[23] of government services which occurred during the early 1970's. Based on communications with government departments, the cabinet concluded that some activities carried out by the civil service could be relocated in smaller communities. Consequently, twenty-six government financed operations were selected for decentralization (Davies et al.,1991). A number of these operations provided services primarily to rural residents, making relocation justifiable. The provincial government of Alberta was one of the first governments in the country to express an interest in environmental issues. It came into the forefront in 1971 when it established the first environmental department in Canada. Approval for the development of a laboratory and research facility was granted in 1973.

In 1974, W.J. Yurko, Minister of the Environment and the M.L.A for the Vegreville area announced the decision to create a new environmental research and laboratory facility at Vegreville[24]. The new facility was to draw together a multi-disciplinary staff involved in environment related research from a number of departments, supplemented by new positions. By consolidating research within one facility it was felt that resources would be more effectively utilized and that it would facilitate interdisciplinary projects. At the time of its inception, the Alberta Environmental Centre was to be the largest decentralization project carried out by the provincial government, involving over 200 positions.

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[23] Decentralization has been used to describe the physical relocation of government services although in some cases the new offices are not under the political dictates of regional or local government. Because of this, the term decentralization will be used to refer to any movement of services and people from an urban center to a rural center.

[24] Approval of the concept which would allow for the development of a laboratory and research facility for the study of the environment was given by cabinet in 1971.

Selection of Vegreville as a Receiving Community

The town of Vegreville fitted several of the requirements for the receiving community of a decentralization project according to research from the University of Calgary (1976). It was considered almost ideally located, being situated approximately 100 kilometres (60 miles) east of Edmonton on the Yellowhead highway. The driving time was seen as a barrier to commuting, but near enough to allow for frequent visits to the major center to retain social and professional ties with other government departments and the University of Alberta. This was supported by previous studies (Carpenter, 1977: Fuguitt & Zuiches, 1975) which indicated that the receiving community must be located at least 60 miles from a major center (University of Calgary, 1976) to discourage daily commuting.

Two other conditions which needed to be met to encourage relocation related to population size of the nearest major urban center and the potential receiving community. The nearest urban centre needed to have a population of over 50,000 and the receiving community a population of 2,500 to 10,000 residents (Fuguitt & Zuiches 1975).

Vegreville met all three conditions, being a one hour drive from a major urban centre (Edmonton) and having a population of 4,209 in 1976. As result of being selected as the receiving community for a decentralized government facility the town annexed 3,600 acres of land around its perimeter for future development (Edmonton Journal, 1975:13) including the facility and associated secondary growth. Of this total, 750 acres one-half mile west of the town was purchased for the research facility.

The Alberta Environmental Centre includes a main laboratory building and research plots. The main research sections include:

- Environmental Technology,
- Animal Sciences,
- Chemistry,
- Common Services, and
- Plant Science.

The site is shared by Alberta Public Works. The facility employs approximately 280 staff, although numbers vary seasonally. This includes about 75 professionals and 125 technical staff. The remaining positions are support staff.

Phasing in of Alberta Environmental Centre Operations

To minimize problems inherent in rapid population growth due to inmigration, the expansion of the Alberta Environmental Centre was planned over a five year period to allow the infrastructure of Vegreville to absorb the newcomers (Table 2). To decrease stress on the local housing situation, plans were put in place to have a portion of the staff commute from Edmonton as the facility operations came on stream. The understanding was that these individuals would later move to Vegreville.

TABLE 2. POSITIONS COMING ON STREAM DURING START-UP OF THE ALBERTA ENVIRONMENTAL CENTRE.

Year	Number of Positions
1976	20
1977	20
1978	70
1979	90
1980	50
	250

(University of Calgary, II-10)

By phasing in operations over a five year period the Alberta Environmental Centre provided the town with the time to develop an infrastructure which could accommodate the new residents. While most of the infrastructure (such as hospitals and schools) was already in place, the most costly investment proved to be the upgrading of the town's water supply. The quantity and quality of water supply for the town had been a problem prior to the increased demand due to the Alberta

Environmental Centre and the subsequent increase in population. The increased demand for a dependable water supply led to the building of a water pipeline from Edmonton.

Population Growth Compared to Development Related Predictions

At the time of inception of the Alberta Environmental Centre in 1976, the population of Vegreville was 4,200. The impact assessment done by the University of Calgary predicted that potentially the population of Vegreville could grow to between 5684 and 6050 residents (Appendix IV). Information from Statistics Canada (1987) indicated that by 1982 the population of Vegreville was 5,251 and by 1986 the population was only predicted to increase by .2 percent.

The discrepancy between population predictions in the impact assessment, and real growth is attributable to the disregard for extraneous factors which influence the decision to migrate (rather than commute). As these were not examined in detail, they resulted in erroneous high and low estimates for direct and induced migration. They did not take into account the number of employees who chose to retain residences outside of Vegreville for personal reasons. Consequently the volume of in-migration did not meet the expectations of the planners.

A factor which was underestimated was the ability of the non-migrant population to compete effectively for available positions at the facility. Difficulty in obtaining a random sample of resident newcomers employed by the Alberta Environmental Centre suggested that long-term residents were able to compete effectively for positions. Based on information obtained through interviews the number of long-term residents employed at the Centre would (in part) be attributed to locals obtaining training which would qualify them for the positions, allowing them to change careers without moving away from the community. It should be noted that some long-term residents gained employment with Alberta Public Works, which shares the site with the Alberta Environmental Centre.

Historical Perspective of Demographic Changes in Vegreville

Settlement Patterns in the Vegreville Area

Vegreville was first established by French Canadian farmers who migrated to the area via the United States in search of agricultural land. These were followed soon after by settlers from Great Britain (1894) and other settlers from eastern Canada. The strong Ukrainian influence on the community came about as a result of the bloc settlement[25] pattern followed by Ukrainian immigrants (primarily after 1910) to the north (northeast) and west of Vegreville. There were unexpected consequences from this, as the social and cultural isolation of the Ukrainian settlers provided the social environment necessary for cultural retention. The conditions facilitated the development of an independent local Ukrainian culture which grew in strength socially and politically during the depression. The number of Ukrainians became so significant by 1927 that 86 of 108 schools in the area were partly or fully populated by students of Ukrainian origin. Consequently, Vegreville came to see itself as a multicultural rather than bicultural (English/French) community.

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[25] The first Ukrainians settled in the Edna-Star area in 1892 to be near German neighbors from Galicia. Ukrainians settled in this rural municipality and the ten adjoining municipalities along the Canadian Northern Railway. By the time the immigration of Ukrainian people slowed in 1930, 28,000 people of Ukrainian and other Slavic origins inhabited a block of fifty-three townships from Fort Saskatchewan east (Martynowych, 1988). The southern boundary of the *bloc* included Chipman, Lamont, Mundare, Vegreville and on through to Mannville. The northern boundary included Waskentenau, Smokey Lake And Vilna. The area is approximately seventy miles long and forty miles wide.

Within this area, the Ukrainian people established rural communities which were adaptations of traditional villages in eastern Europe. These centres provided the basic functions which would ordinarily be found in a town, but were not sanctioned by the provincial government. These communities functions relatively independently from non-Ukrainian settlements.

Vegreville and Ukrainian Culture

The Ukrainian culture became predominant in the community as a result of the influences from people living in the surrounding rural areas. As Ukrainians began to assimilate, Vegreville became a receiving community for rural residents in a step-wise migration toward urban centres (most notably to Edmonton) and for seniors as a retirement community. In 1981 over 45.3 percent of Vegreville residents indicated they had Ukrainian origins.

TABLE 3. ETHNIC ORIGINS OF VEGREVILLE POPULATION, 1981.

Ethnic Origin	Frequency	Percentage
British	1,220	23.9
French	145	2.8
German	310	6.1
Ukrainian	2,310	45.3
Multiple Origins	425	8.3
Other	685	13.4
Totals	5,095	99.8%

(Statistics Canada, 1987)

For historical reasons Ukrainians in eastern Europe[26] became very nationalistic and consequently, resistant to cultural assimilation. The culture, including language, was (and is) retained through the churches. The church has remained a unifying force with its formal social structure. In general, the largest proportion of Ukrainians follow either the Ukrainian Catholic or Ukrainian Orthodox faiths. In addition to providing religious services the churches provide educational and cultural services for the ethnic Ukrainian community.

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[26] Through most of its history Ukraine has been dominated by other nations, with control by the Soviet Union being the most recent. Despite this the language and culture survived. In 1991, Canadian Ukrainians celebrated the independence of Ukraine and its millennium.

The degree of religiosity is high among Ukrainians and so the ethnic churches have not suffered as notable a decline in attendance in recent decades as other churches have experienced. The level of support for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Vegreville led to the construction and consecration of a new church in the spring of 1992 to replace the original structure which had become too small and was structurally unsound.

Assimilation of Vegreville Residents of Ukrainian Origin

Retention of the Ukrainian culture combined with the block settlement pattern slowed the integration of the Ukrainian people into Canadian culture[27]. As most social contact occurred locally in conjunction with functions organized through the church the first generation of Canadian born Ukrainians tended to associate with, and marry ethnic Ukrainians.

The assimilation of the second generation of Ukrainians occurred after the Second World War when young people started leaving the rural areas to further their education and take advantage of occupational opportunities (Edmonton being the preferred location). For many, this was their first opportunity to socialize with young people of other ethnic origins.

The value placed on educational achievement is evident when the number of Ukrainians in high status professions are considered. The preferred professions included law, medicine, dentistry, politics and education. In comparison to its size, Vegreville has produced a large number of highly regarded individuals including 14 judges (from the Superior Court to the circuit courts), numerous doctors, the leader of the Alberta Liberal party (Decore) and the Deputy Prime Minister (Mazankowski).

Despite assimilation into the Canadian culture, the Ukrainian culture is still evident in Vegreville. Through ethnic exogamy the culture is transferred to the next generation by either the mother or the father[28]. Although intermarriage has occurred with people of other ethnic origins in the community, individuals with German, English and French names may identify themselves as Ukrainian.

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[27] This refers to social integration prior to the Second World War, with the English language and British culture predominating.

Judging from this, it is unlikely that the community will undergo a great deal of ethnic change unless there is a disproportionately high out migration of younger Ukrainians from the community (in comparison to those of other ethnic origins) or a large number of in-migrants of other ethnic origins relocate in the community.

Vegreville Population 1966-1986

The population increase in Vegreville prior to 1976 was slow. In the previous decade, the population had increased by 700-800 persons (Table 4), with a large portion of this being seniors (23 percent of the town population in 1975). If population growth continued at the same rate as historical data suggested, the population of Vegreville would have increased by approximately 400 people between 1976 and 1981. Instead, data indicate that the population of Vegreville increased by 1,042. The increase in population was only an anomaly, with growth being minimal from 1981 to 1986. Combined, the data from 1976 through to 1986 demonstrates that growth was higher than predicted for Vegreville in this period, but it is its distribution within that time frame which is important. With the majority of the growth occurring within a five year period the town was faced with a short-lived boom.

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[28] This was a departure from the traditional pattern of marriage and courtship, which was clan exonomy based on patrilineal clans. The practice of was discouraged in Canada by the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. Clan exonomy was replaced by organizational emphasis on ethnic endogamy within the Catholic and Orthodox religious groups (Pohorecky, 1988).

TABLE 4. VEGREVILLE POPULATION, 1976 - 1986

	Year		
	1976	1981	1986
Number of Residents	4,209	5,251	5,276

(Statistics Canada, 1987)

Secondary information from 1976 through to 1986 suggest growth to Vegreville attributable to the agricultural sector of the economy was unlikely. Without economic diversification there would have been a decline in the over-all population as rural farm people exited the industry to obtain a better standard of living through other means of employment. With economic diversification being started prior to the decline in agricultural prices Vegreville out-migration did not exceed in-migration.

Demographic Characteristics of Vegreville Residents: 1986

Age Distribution

It has been acknowledged that rural populations in general have been aging due to out-migration, declining birth rates and aging-in-place of the resident population (Lichter et al, 1979). The age distribution for Vegreville residents is indicative of this as there is a disproportionately large number of seniors. Since 1976 the proportion of seniors in the Vegreville population has varied from 21 to 27 percent.

A comparison of the population of Vegreville between 1976 and 1986 (the most recent information available from Statistics Canada) suggests that the age distribution in the community has changed, although it remained relatively stable in terms of the proportion of those individuals over 65 years of age (Table 5). Change was most evident in the 20 through 55 year age groups. Between 1976 and 1986 the proportion of 20 through 35 year olds residents increased by 6.92 percent, with the most significant increase occurring between 1976 and 1981 (this may be partially explained by the aging of the baby boom cohort). The proportion in the 35 through 54 age group also exhibited an increase (4.5 percent) between 1976 and 1986.

A decline was evident in proportion of the population between the ages of 55 and 65. While some of this may be attributed to mortality, out-migration may be a contributing factor, with individuals taking early retirement leaving Vegreville. The only segment of the population that remained relatively constant in proportion were the seniors (individuals over the age of 65), with little change indicated between 1976 and 1981.

The 1991 statistics on age were unavailable, but estimates provided by local administrators suggest that the proportion of seniors (1991-92) will be similar to, or higher than figures from the 1986 Census. People in the social service sector in the town speculated that the proportion of seniors in the community may be as high as 28 percent, but this was not substantiated.

TABLE 5. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF VEGREVILLE, 1976-1986.

Age Group	Year 1976 n=4,160	 1981 n=5,255	 1986 n=5,276
0 - 9 years	12.86%	13.6%	13.26%
10 - 19 years	16.95%	15.89%	13.17%
20 - 34 years	16.2%	21.03%	23.12%
35 - 54 years	18.87%	18.55%	23.41%
55 - 64 years	13.3%	10.75%	9.66%
65 + years	21.5%	20.26%	21.98%

Gender

According to Statistics Canada (1987) the proportion of men and women has remained relatively constant in Vegreville from 1976 through to 1986. The proportion of men has ranged between 47.8 percent and 49.9 percent.

Marital Status of Vegreville Residents

Data available from Statistics Canada (1987) indicated that from 1976 (Table 6) to 1986 (Table 7), 50.8 and 51.8 percent of Vegreville adults were married. An additional 11.5 percent indicated having been married previously. Approximately 37 percent of the adult population are identified as being single (as opposed to divorced, widowed or separated). The other status with a substantial representation was the widowed category. This was expected because of the number of elderly living in the community.

The data indicate gender effects on marital status, with single male outnumbering single females in Vegreville. The reverse is true for other non-married status. In the category of *widowed*, women predominate suggesting that a relationship between gender, loss of a spouse through death and advanced age is likely as Vegreville has a high proportion of senior residents. Although the number of divorced and separated individuals was low in both 1976 and 1981 it suggests that these numbers are increasing.

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS OF VEGREVILLE RESIDENTS (%), 18 YEARS AND OVER (1976).

Marital Status	Gender Male n=1,985	 Female n=2,170	Total n=4,160
Single	40.5%	33.2%	36.6%
Married	54.1%	49.5%	51.8%
Widowed	3.2%	14.5%	9.1%
Divorced	1.0%	1.1%	1.1%
Separated	1.0%	1.6%	1.3%

TABLE 7. MARITAL STATUS OF VEGREVILLE RESIDENTS (%), 18 YEARS AND OVER (1981).

Marital Status	Gender		
	Male n=2,515	Female n=2,730	Total n=5,245
Single	41.5%	34.1%	36.6%
Married	53.1%	48.7%	51.8%
Widowed	2.8%	14.1%	9.1%
Divorced	1.6%	1.6%	1.1%
Separated	2.5%	1.5%	1.3%

Statistics Canada. 1987. Profiles, Alberta: Part 1. 94-117

Socio-Economic Indicators: 1976 - 1986

Research on the impact of the Alberta Environmental Centre on Vegreville (University of Calgary, 1976) suggested that a majority of the positions available would be offered to non-residents as the skills and education required were not perceived as being available in the resident population. Although this did not prove to be the case, researchers were correct in their assertion that newcomers would have a different educational, occupational and cultural background from the existing population. This was supported by secondary data from the 1976, 1981 and 1986 Census for Vegreville.

Education

There was a noticeable increase in the number of individuals with post secondary educational certificates between 1976 and 1981 (Appendix IV). Comparable data for 1976 are not available. The changes may be attributed, at least in part, to the in-migration of personnel to work at the Centre. In 1976 there were 230 individuals with a post-secondary certificate as compared to 1981 when there were 320 (Statistics Canada, 1987(94-117):193). The number holding University degrees also increased, from 140 in 1976 to 275 in 1981 (Statistics Canada, 1987(94-117):193).

Post-secondary Qualifications and Occupational Groups

The breakdown of post-secondary qualifications by Statistics Canada in 1986 for Vegreville indicates that there were a disproportionate number of individuals with engineering and related post-secondary education when compared to numbers in other professions. Of the 1,285 individuals listed, 450 were identified as being in engineering related occupations (Appendix IV). Personnel at the Center would likely include some of the 175 individuals in Communications, Management and Business Administration and the 40 with qualifications in Math and Physical Science.

In terms of changes to the number of residents in major occupational groups, comparisons were only available for 1981 and 1986 (Table 8).

TABLE 8. POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1981 & 1986.

	Number employed	
Occupational Groups	1981	1986
Management, Administration & related occupations	165	235
Clerical	455	390
Technology	160	220
	780	845

(Statistics Canada, 1987)

Data indicates that the number of individuals in management, administrative and technological occupations increased after the Centre went into full operation (1981). The increase in numbers of people in these occupational groups compared with the a population growth of .2 percent between the two census periods suggests that in-migration was continuing and that new residents were replacing those leaving the community. If the two groups were compared it would be probable that the characteristics for the two groups would differ, with in-migrants having more education and different occupational qualifications than out-migrants. While some of the newcomers may be associated with the Alberta Environmental Centre, other growth may be attributed to an increased demand for professionals employed in banking, law and dentistry expanded to serve the increased population.

Research assumed long-term residents had a limited ability to fulfil employment qualifications required by the Centre and that only a small number of long-term residents would be employed there. The preliminary assessment done by the University of Calgary estimated that only about 10 percent (25) of the positions at the Centre could potentially be filled by local residents (Appendix IV). These positions would be technical, secretarial or maintenance. Difficulty in identifying newcomers employed at the Alberta Environmental Centre based on 1990 staff lists and the Vegreville telephone directory suggested that the number of local residents employed by the facility is much higher than this, with only 60 of 275 employees having the potential to be new residents in Vegreville.

Factors Affecting Household Income in Vegreville

Income is used as a measure of status as it provides the individual the financial ability to pursue interests inside and outside the community. Income is also a measure of how society values the work performed, consequently socio-economic status becomes tied to occupation.

Household income is indicative of the number of wage earners, educational attainment and occupations. These are further affected by the lifecycle stage, family cycle and local employment opportunities available for the individual(s). Of these, the family cycle is the most limiting when women remain at home with small children and consequently do not provide a direct economic contribution to the household. This was particularly true in Vegreville, as respondents indicated that there was a shortage of quality daycare for preschool age children.

Interviews conducted in the community suggest that family roles in Vegreville have remained fairly traditional, with a large number of women being stay-at-home mothers either by choice or due to a lack of occupational opportunities available to them locally. Suitable employment combined with a lack of daycare for preschoolers appear to be barriers in pursuit of career interests for women in the child-rearing years. Professional opportunities for women are limited, with an oversupply of qualified individuals in some professions (most notably education).

Social Involvement

Friendship Networks

A rural community provides the individual with different social opportunities than would be available in a large centre. Not only will the number of social contacts vary, but the frequency and intensity of those contacts will also be different. The size of Vegreville suggests that a resident would recognize a large number of local people but may not know them personally. This was consistent with research in other rural communities (Watkins, 1992). Recognition should not be confused with intimacy. As one individual stated:

> It doesn't matter, you see people and you kind of know that's someone's wife or that's her husband or they work at so and so place. So its kind of neat that way because you always feel like there is someone you can walk down the street and know.

This suggests that while an individual recognizes people on the street and is outwardly friendly he or she does not share close associations with them.

According to Fischer (1982) individuals construct their own social networks from the pattern of circumstances available to them. Questions exist whether the small relative size of rural communities affect network development because they limit the number of contacts available, or whether people living within these communities have managed to adapt to the situation and extend the spatial contexts in which social contacts are made. The spatial context (where friends reside geographically in relation to one another) is of growing interest because people are more mobile, and less likely to remain in the same community throughout their lives. As friends relocate in other communities, relative values and rewards are calculated for the continuation of the social association. Efforts will be made to keep in touch with valued friends who have moved. According to Fischer (1982:172) "the only distant friends we keep are our very best friends, nearby friends need not be so special." Thus when we look at friendship networks as a building block for integration it is necessary to consider the retention of social associations outside the community as well as within it.

Participation in Local Organizations

The establishment of local friendships is indicative of how well integrated the individual is in the community. Residents that were interviewed indicated involvement in one or two local organizations. A complete listing of organizations is available in Appendix IV.

Organizations in Vegreville serve an important social function by providing a structured setting in which people can meet. Choices influencing organizational membership direct people toward those which allow them to pursue personal interests. As this selectivity is shared by all organization members, individuals found in any one organization would share common interests, thus providing a basis for the formation of friendships. Information from respondents indicated that some life cycle and family cycle factors influence organizational membership with younger adults raising a family being more likely to belong to organizations that contribute to education and child welfare (Home and School, Brownies, Cubs, Block Parents etc.).

The strength of the religious component in the community is very evident in Vegreville, with the town having twelve churches for a population of slightly over 5,100. In general the strongest social bonds between people in Vegreville develop through the churches.

Political Structure of Vegreville

Vegreville is located in the County of Minburn No. 27. Offices for both the County and the Town are located in Vegreville. The town has a Council and Mayor elected every three years. There are six councillors, three representatives for the Vegreville Long-term Care Centre, two school representatives and the mayor.

The County of Minburn has seven subdivisions. These include rural areas from Mundare in the west to Minburn in the east, and Viking. As the County shares the use of the Vegreville Long-term Care Centre with the town, it has three wards who are appointed to Hospital Board. The County also runs the schools in Vegreville. All of its councillors serve on the school board and are joined by the two representatives elected from the town.

IV. DESIGN AND METHODS OF RESEARCH

Introduction

The objective of this thesis is to examine the processes by which newcomers become socially integrated in a rural community. Two aspects of this are of particular interest. The first are the personal characteristics of the newcomers which act as indicators for social success in new settings. The second aspect is the process by which high-status newcomers establish new social networks following a change of residence. Previous research suggests that high-status newcomers are able to establish themselves socially in new communities with fewer problems than those experienced by other categories of newcomers (for example semi-skilled persons).

Specific objectives to be addressed by this research are:

1. To identify personal characteristics of newcomers and long-term residents of Vegreville which would affect social integration.
2. To examine patterns of interaction which contribute to the integration of newcomers into the social structure of the community.

The subject will be explored using both primary and secondary data sources.

Considerations for Selection of the Community

Information on decentralization was used as a basis for selecting the community to be studied. A review of communities who have received decentralized government facilities was carried out, and characteristics of both the facilities and communities were studied. The first consideration in relation to the facilities was size. Not all were large enough to have a significant social or economic impact on the communities. The length of tenure of the facility in the community was also important, as staff turnover stabilizes over time.

As the focus of this research was on the social integration of high-status newcomers in a rural community constraints identified were related to the physical and social characteristics of the community. Size was important, as a smaller community provides the individual with a different range of social opportunities than a major centre. Most notably, it limits the potential number of social contexts and contacts available. Secondly, size of the community influences the lifestyle. For this research, the community needed a sufficiently large population to support an infrastructure capable of meeting the needs of local residents while providing a social and physical environment perceived as *rural*[29]. At the same time, the size of the community needed to be small enough that local social structures and social processes contributing to integration could be identified and compared.

A number of communities in Alberta who received large government facilities (over 200 employees) since 1975 were considered. These included: Barrhead (Alberta Correspondence Branch), Athabasca (Athabasca University) and Vegreville (Alberta Environmental Centre). All three of these were located within an hour and a half drive from Edmonton. Two of the facilities were educational in purpose and so the people they would have brought to the community would be better educated than the average long-term resident, but would share characteristics of other educators in the community. The third facility, located in Vegreville differed in that its core staff would be scientists and researchers. The nature of the work performed by the Alberta Environmental Centre was sufficiently dissimilar to other professional occupations available in Vegreville that social characteristics shared with long-term residents would be minimal.

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[29] The concept of rurality has become romanticized in modern society and is often thought of as an ideal, where neighbours are known to one another and good-will prevails. A more realistic view in terms of this research is that the small size of the community, rather than providing an ideal social setting, is one which poses social advantages and disadvantages. While the small population has the potential to allow for a sense of community to emerge, it can be socially restricting for individuals whose personal characteristics differ from what is perceived as the norm in the community.

Vegreville was selected as the most appropriate setting for the research based on the size of government facility, population characteristics and its proximity to Edmonton.

Data Sources and Requirements

Secondary Data Sources

A number of sources for data were considered. Both primary and secondary data sources were utilized. In the initial stages of research, general information on the subject of social integration and related topics were obtained through a literature review. Secondary data on Vegreville was available through sources such as Statistics Canada and publications prepared by special interest groups in the community. Review of secondary sources allowed for the identification of variables considered important for the research. This information was then supplemented by primary data obtained from sources within the community.

Primary Data Sources

For the gathering of primary data, consideration was given to the appropriateness of quantitative or qualitative data. Quantitative data is more common as the form readily lends itself to computer analysis of variables used to identify relationships that exist within a given population. Qualitative data, by comparison, provide an interpretive explanation of the phenomenon based on the experience of people in the population being studied (Noblit and Hare, 1988). These data may be categorized and analyzed in a manner similar to quantitative data, but this was not deemed advantageous for this research.

In selecting a method for the collection of primary data, it was recognized that the use of both qualitative and quantitative data would make valuable contributions to the understanding of the subject. Quantitative data was chosen to provide comparative information on variables. Qualitative research would then provide subjective data on the phenomenon.

The Use of Quantitative Data

Quantitative research is modelled after natural science, which involves theory construction and hypothesis testing. This method provides the researcher with information regarding statistical relationships between variables. During the collection of quantitative data the role of the researcher/interviewer is to remain unobtrusive in order to control for external stimuli which would jeopardize the reliability of the measurement instrument (Fielding & Fielding, 1986).

It was determined that quantitative data would be used to provide insights into personal characteristics and social interaction which contributes to the social integration of newcomers into the social structure.

Qualitative Research Component

The purpose of collecting qualitative data differs from that of quantitative data. Quantitative data are relatively uniform and yield numeric information that can be statistically analyzed. The data can be transformed to numerical representations to perform statistical analysis of information, but this is time consuming and requires considerable manipulation of the data. The disadvantage of this is that it can lead to a loss of valuable information when categorizing raw data.

Unlike the standardized format used for quantitative data collection, the collection of qualitative data is not a routinized process (Kidder & Judd, 1986:181) so the lines of questioning were expected to change. Instead of slotting answers into categories for computer analysis, the data collected in the individual interviews were recorded and then analyzed for recurrent themes, with information gathered providing substance and scope to the quantitative findings. While this method provides more in depth information than the quantitative research it is more difficult to draw conclusions since it tends to generate large quantities of material needing to be grouped in meaningful ways.

Data Collection

Using the individual as the unit of analysis, the research addresses how people relate to one another and how they perceive their individual roles within the community social context at a given point in time. To carry out the quantitative research stratified random sampling was performed. Two random samples were obtained from the population of Vegreville to obtain data from the newcomers and long-term resident populations.

Newcomers

As this research focuses on the social integration of newcomers, it was recognized that a large number of individuals needed to be identified from the general population of Vegreville. A random sample drawn from the community was unlikely to provide a sufficient sample of persons who had moved to the community in the past fifteen years (the period of time when rapid growth occurred in Vegreville). It was determined that other means needed to be employed to identify newcomers to the community. A sample of individuals employed by the Alberta Environmental Centre was identified as a potential source of individuals who had come to the community for employment or economic reasons since 1976. Individuals were identified using staff lists included in the Annual Reports, dating back to the opening of the Centre in 1980 through to, and including 1989. Using the most recent issue to identify individuals working at the Centre and recording the year each individual came on staff provided some indication of who relocated in Vegreville for employment reasons. The names were then compared to listings in the Vegreville telephone directory to identify those individuals living in or near Vegreville. The sample size was further reduced by eliminating individuals whose surname was common to the Vegreville area. Approximately one third (66) of the individuals employed at the Centre were contacted to participate in the quantitative portion of the research.

Due to the random sampling method it was not possible to prevent the inclusion of long-term residents from this group. Analysis of the returns indicated that 12.5 percent of the respondents from the Alberta Environmental Centre were long-term residents (resided in the community longer than fifteen years). The data provided by these respondents was grouped with data from other long-term residents in order to provide information on temporal effects on social integration in Vegreville.

Long-term Residents

The sample from the Alberta Environmental Centre was supplemented with a random sample from the community. The individuals for this sample were identified using the Vegreville telephone directory. The directory lists approximately 2,700 residential phone numbers and addresses in Vegreville and the surrounding rural area. To obtain a sample population of 150 households, systematic sampling selected with every eighteenth name (non-business) with a Vegreville mailing address.

Preliminary analysis of data from the random sample of the community indicated that 26.5 percent were newcomers to the community based on length of residence in the community. Consequently the data provided by these respondents was grouped with data from respondents from the Alberta Environmental Centre.

Design of the Measurement Instruments

Design of the Self-Administered Questionnaire

A self-administered mail-out questionnaire was used to collect quantitative data. Its use imposed some limits on the development of the questionnaire. The restrictions related to the number of the questions and the wording used.

One question which arose was whether the information collected for this research would be comparable to data from previous research on social integration. An examination of literature on the subject noted that certain lines of questioning were used repeatedly by sociologists doing research in the areas of social integration and community attachment. Rather than developing questions which were not comparable to previous research, the questions were patterned after those in existing studies (Fischer,1982; Goudy, 1990). While differences exist with respect to wording and responses, the concepts were maintained.

Questions on the distribution of friends were patterned after questions used in a California study (Fischer, 1982) which examined the distribution of friends within a geographical area. While it leaves the determination of who 'friends' are to the respondent, an explanatory introduction is provided in the questionnaire. Pretesting of the questionnaire indicated that respondents were able to differentiate between friends and casual acquaintances.

Several types of questions were included in the questionnaire. Closed-ended questions were used when relatively few responses were probable (Appendix II). For example, in the first question respondents were asked where their current place of residence was. They were provided with five choices for their answer. These included the residence being located in the town of Vegreville to distances greater than 51 km from Vegreville.

Open-ended questions which require the respondent to provide hand-written information were used for questions which had an infinite number of potential answers. Open-ended questions were used to provide information for variables such as: years of residence, local organizations to which respondents currently or have previously belonged, factors working against social integration of newcomers within the community, and demographic information (age, years of education etc.).

Two questionnaires were developed to allow for the collection of additional information from newcomers associated with the Alberta Environmental Centre. The two questionnaire were identical with the exception of questions #8, #13, #15, and #19 (Appendix II). These questions dealt with length of residence in Vegreville by respondents friends, sentiments regarding leaving the community and the size of community the newcomer would prefer to live in.

Pretesting

The questionnaires were reviewed by professors, Population and Research Laboratory (University of Alberta) staff and other graduate students. These individuals were asked to review the questions taking into consideration the purpose of the study and the likelihood of the questions generating the desired information. This led to some changes to the questions, primarily with respect to the response categories for the questions. The revised questionnaire was then pre-tested in Vegreville.

Schedule for the Collection of Quantitative Data

The questionnaires were mailed out in March (1992) using both Canada Post (for town addresses) and the Provincial Courier (for employees of the Alberta Environmental Centre). The package mailed out included an introductory letter, the questionnaire and a self-addressed, stamped envelope. This was followed up by a reminder letter at the beginning of April. Although a third mailing including a second copy of the questionnaire was originally planned, a low response to the second mailing prompted a re-evaluation of the mail-out schedule. A preliminary analysis of the results indicated that later respondents were not contributing new information. As a result it was determined that any subsequent information from the return of additional questionnaires would not contribute significantly to the diversity of information collected and returns were cut off April 15.

Return Rate for the Self-Administered Questionnaires

The return rate was recorded for the self-administered questionnaires and used to predict a suitable cut-off date for the forms. Following the March 17 mail-out, the first forms were returned March 23. A reminder letter was mailed out April 2. This generated the return of another 19 questionnaires. In total, 119 of 213 were returned (a return rate of 55.9 percent). The completed forms included 39 from the Alberta Environmental Centre and 80 from the town. Twelve incomplete forms were returned. Reasons given were moved, deceased, age and poor English.

Qualitative Design

Interviews were used for the collection of qualitative data. The purpose of the interview was to gain a better understanding of the processes involved in making social contacts in a new community which lead to social integration of the individual. For this research subjective information on the residents and the community were collected to supplement the information provided through the analysis of the quantitative data. This is important because:

> We cannot observe behaviours that took place at some previous time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things. *The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter the other person's perspective.*
>
> (Patton,1987:109)

After considering the advantages and disadvantages of the different interview types it was determined because of the diversity of people to be interviewed that no one interview style would serve the purpose and so a combination of the informal conversational interview and the general interview guide approaches were used. The informal conversational interview uses the spontaneous generation of questions. The method allows the interviewer and respondent to interact with one another, making it possible to explore emerging themes in depth.

There are several problems inherent in using the informal conversational interview. The first is that its effectiveness is subject to the communication skills of the interviewer, as there is a need to respond spontaneously to new information presented by the respondent. Secondly, data from informal conversational interviews is more time consuming to analyze or categorize than information obtained from interviews that depend on standardized questions. As the data is in a free form, time must be spent in the analysis to identify recurrent themes which occur on a case-wise basis.

The disadvantages of using the informal conversational interview can be minimized by combining it with another interview method, in this case an interview guide was used. The interview guide is a list of questions or subject areas that the researcher wishes to explore during the interview. This ensures that similar information is generated from all of the interviews while allowing the interviewer to explore emerging themes.

The questions developed (Appendix III) were used as a guide for the interviews and all of the questions were not necessarily used during each interview. The form of the interviews was subject to variation to make the best use of the time spent with the respondent. Questions which evolved from the interview were intended to maximize the data collected from the individual being interviewed. This took into consideration the social position and social experience of the respondent within the community.

Interview Schedule

It was necessary to identify individuals for personal interviews for the qualitative component of this study. The process was facilitated by including a question at the end of the self-administered questionnaire. The question was used to identify individuals willing to participate in a short personal interview. Those willing to participate were asked to provide their name and a telephone number where they could be reached.

The response rate for volunteers to do individual interviews was good, with 44 individuals (37 percent) providing their names and telephone numbers. Using this, potential interviewees were selected from the town group by using a purposive selection from the volunteers from the quantitative study[30] and the snowballing technique.[31] Those interviewed from the Centre were individuals who indicated a willingness to participate.

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[30] A *purposive sample* is one believed to provide the most comprehensive understanding of the subject. (Babbie, 1989:269) Individuals interviewed were selected from those who indicated a willingness to participate. Selection was done to ensure that all major age categories, and family cycle stages were represented and that respondents varied in terms of educational attainment (particularly for those in

The interview dates and times were negotiated independently between the interviewer and the respondent with respect to the respondents available time. Interviews were held at the respondents' home, place of employment or other suitable location. No fixed number of interviews were identified as necessary at the beginning of the process. It was determined that the interviews would continue until a pattern of responses became apparent. A pattern emerged after 10 interviews were completed. Five more interviews were completed to determine whether the themes were recurrent. These interviews verified the information which had been obtained from previous respondents.

The interviews, conducted from June 1992 through August 1992, ranged in length, from 25 minutes to an hour and a half. The variation in length was attributable to the depth of the answers provided by the respondent. The data reflected the individual's age, length of residence in the community and degree of social integration.

Collection of Interview Data

All of the interviews were transcribed from the tapes to allow the researcher easier access to the information being sought and to identify quotations. Information obtained in the interviews was taped to allow the researcher to participate freely in the interview with a minimum of notes being taken. Participants were asked for permission to record the interview, with the interviewer indicating the purpose for doing this. The use of a tape recorder was not a problem for the respondents

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the sample of long-term residents).

[31] When the initial interviews were conducted in the community the researcher asked each individual who they would suggest to be interviewed. This was particularly important in the identification of individuals belonging to demographic categories that were under represented in the quantitative portion of the study.

although some were concerned it would affect their spontaneity. Placing the recorder out of view of the respondent and regular eye contact with the participant alleviated the problem.

Data Processing and Analysis

Coding the Self-Administered Questionnaire

A codebook was constructed following the format used for the self-administered questionnaire. This document identified the values assigned for each variable. The codebook was then used as a reference when the questionnaires were coded and as a reference for locating variables and identifying codes during the analysis (Babbie, 1989:361).

The codebook was divided into three sections. The first section identified all of the variables included in the questionnaire and the values assigned to each. The second section contained the variable numbers, the variable names, and codes to be used for each value. The last section was similar to the previous section, but it included the coding information for the open-ended questions (eg. names of local organizations). These were specifically left to the end of the codebook as the number of values possible for each variable were unknown. Leaving these to the end allowed for additions and editing as coding proceeded.

Processing Quantitative Data

Following the coding of the questionnaires the information was transferred to "coding sheets" to facilitate the transfer of information to the data base. The purpose for this was two-fold. First transferring the information allowed the researcher to double check the coding on the forms for errors or omissions, secondly it made the information easier to key into the computer. The data-base program selected was *PEII*, as it allowed for the entry of each case as a numerical string.

Selection of Statistical Techniques

The statistical program used for this research was *SPSS/PC+*. The program, commonly used for social research, allows for the analysis of data which have been transformed into numerical codes. It is capable of doing a variety of statistical analyses. Those of interest for this research were frequencies, means, cross-tabs, t-tests and multiple regression. The analyses performed for each variable were determined by the characteristics of the variable.

Frequencies were used to examine the distribution of all of the variables. The output provided information on the occurrence of each value identified. It indicated whether the data had a normal distribution. The same string command was used to obtain the means for interval variables (eg. years lived in Vegreville, age, years of education).

The t-test is used to determine whether or not newcomers and long-term residents have the same mean in the population for a number of variables, including age, years of education and years of residence in Vegreville. The t-test calculates the mean for each variable, then subtracts one mean from the other. The t-statistic is produced by dividing the difference of the means by the standard error. This produces the observed significance level, which provides information on how often we would expect to see a difference of this size if the means for the two groups were the same. When the observed significance level was less than .05, the hypothesis that the two means were equal in the population was rejected (Norusis, 1988).

Crosstabs were used to study relationships between dependent and independent variables. The output indicates the number of cases which share the same combination of values for the independent and dependent variables. Most of the analyses done involved the use of two variables, but several analyses were performed as a three-way cross. Recoding was necessary to perform some of the analyses as the number of values for the variable were too large to provide useful information (example: age by education).

Regressions were carried out to examine the relationships between a dependent variable and a number of independent variables. The information gained using this method differs from crosstabs in that it allows for the control of variables. This analysis was used to examine the relationships between variables that influenced the individuals' sense of belonging in Vegreville. This sentiment is dependent on integration of the individual into the social structure of the community.

Processing Qualitative Data

Information from the interviews was recorded and later transcribed verbatim to facilitate the use of the data. Following transcription, themes were identified from each interview and data were grouped accordingly. Rather than quantifying the data, it was used in its original form to supplement and provide an explanation for results of the quantitative analysis.

Reliability and Validity Considerations

Reliability and validity are both important for a research project, and are often referred to at the same time, as if one were dependent on the other. The two in fact have different meanings and different implications in respect to research. Their use is further complicated when faced with the prospect that the research may be reliable, but invalid. Kidder (1986:53) refers to validity and reliability as "two ends of a continuum, and at points in the middle it is difficult to distinguish between them." In acknowledging these difficulties this section will address the two issues separately.

Validity

According to Babbie (1989:124) "validity refers to the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration." This definition is expanded on by Fowler and Mangione (1990:(18)26) who state that "a survey measure's validity could be assessed by the correlation or correspondence between a survey answer and some error-free measure of the same thing," indicating that the best comparison would be with another measure of the same phenomenon or one related to it. Validity is relatively easy to assess when dealing with quantitative data, as it either does or does not measure something (Kirk & Miller, 1986).

Problems with validity arise when dealing with qualitative data, where the issues become more difficult. Thus the appropriate question to ask with respect to this research is whether the labels used to measure the occurrence of social integration were accurate or appropriate, or barring that, was there a problem with the nomenclature to the degree that an unidentified social situation was measured.

Validity may be measured a number of different ways. The first of this is criterion, pragmatic or predictive validity. How accurate will this measurement instrument be in predicting whether or not integration has occurred (or is occurring)? Are the criteria that were selected suitable indicators of the behaviour? These questions can be addressed by matching results from alternative procedures. If the results match, the observations are accepted as valid.

In asking these questions, content validity is implied as it is concerned with how well the measurement instrument "covers the range of meanings included within the concept" (Babbie, 1989:125). This relates to the range of questioning to be included in a study. Questions can exist regarding whether all aspects of the subject have been covered, and if not, whether it will bias the results of the research.

The third type of validity considered was construct validity, which measures the theoretical relationships associated with the analysis of data. Its interest lies in its ability to justify itself when faced with alternative definitions in respect to the theoretical paradigm[32].

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[32] "A paradigm is a fundamental model or scheme that organizes our view of something." (Babbie, 1989:47)

Validity Issues for Self-Administered Questionnaires

In developing the self-administered questionnaire there was an element of uncertainty as to how to develop questions which would provide a valid measurement for social integration, as the typology is multifaceted. The problem was to identify categories of information which would provide insights into the subject, then proceed to develop questions which would best represent those categories. The literature search suggested that questions pertaining to personal (and family) characteristics, friendship networks and involvement in community organizations would provide the essential information.

Some of the issues regarding criterion validity were dealt with by patterning questions from questionnaires used by other researchers. The advantage to this is that problems with criterion validity have been identified and can be taken into consideration when preparing the questions and/or when interpreting the data.

Validity Issues for Interviews

Validity is often assumed to be a problem with respect to interviews because the data collected are not based on direct observation (Fielding and Fielding, 1986). The validity of interviews can be assessed in several different ways. The primary purpose of conducting interviews for this research was to obtain in-depth, specific information about the processes involved in social integration. Of particular importance is that through the interview process, the individual provides the interviewer with his or her perspective of the social environment. If this proves to be inconsistent with other data which are collected, the reliability of the informant may need to be scrutinized. As it is possible for interview data to be biased because it is dependent upon the respondents analysis of the environment, responses from other individuals (to the same question) may be used as a basis for comparison before a decision is made regarding how to handle the information. Another option for dealing with inconsistent information given by a respondent may be to examine it in context with other information he/she has provided. In this case, the individual may provide clues as to why particular views are held.

Assessing validity of interviews is difficult because what is being judged is how another person internalizes his/her social environment and communicates the information to the interviewer. Not only is the person being interviewed a potential source for error, but so is the questioning technique employed. Comprehension of questions can be a source for error in interviews with fixed formats as they lack the flexibility necessary to select terminology familiar to the person being interviewed. The use of the informal conversational interview reduces this problem by allowing the interviewer to word the questions in form understood by the person being interviewed. This enables the interviewer to obtain more accurate feedback.

Use of an open format allowed for the exploration of subject areas, with questions evolving as a result of active discourse between the interviewer and the respondent. The potential for error occurs when the interviewer is probing for information that the respondent has alluded to in the course of the interview. By over-emphasizing a topic area a biased viewpoint may emerge. In effect, the information collected is dependent upon the experience of both the interviewer and the respondent.

Reliability

Unlike validity, reliability is concerned with the ability to replicate the results of research with a small degree of error. The ability of a measurement instrument to produce the same results depends on a number of factors. Reliability has the potential to be affected by characteristics and training of persons involved in the collection and coding of information and the number of people involved in the research. As well, it is possible for data to change over time.

Numerous errors may be made during the research process which affect the reliability of the research product. One source of error may occur in the selection of the sampling frame. When a sample is selected from the population of interest it does not include everyone. In this case the sample for the community was selected from the telephone book. This method would omit those individuals who did not have phones or had unlisted numbers, while including individuals who are either deceased or have relocated. The sample from the Centre had similar possibilities of error as the staff changes throughout the year and some individuals included in the sample were no longer employed at the Centre. At the same time, this group may have omitted individuals who had come on staff recently and newcomers who had surnames common in the resident population.

Errors in reliability may be reduced by training all of the individuals collecting and coding data. This particular facet of reliability is not of concern with respect to data collection and coding for this research because the work was carried out by a single researcher. Reducing the number of people handling the data is not indicative of greater reliability, but rather that variation which could be attributed to the contributions of a number of people does not occur. Data entry and coding both provide considerable opportunity for human error in recording the information accurately.

Reliability of the self-administered questionnaire can be questioned as the respondent answers the questions without the assistance of an interviewer. This has the potential for different interpretations of the questions, but the effects were minimized through the pretesting process. Feedback from persons involved in the pretest resulted in minor changes in wording in respect to who could potentially be regarded as "friends." No other significant changes were needed. Only one return indicated having a problem with the description, suggesting that most individuals had a similar understanding of the word.

V. OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

This chapter presents the data obtained from the questionnaires and the interviews. It is discussed in relation to broader sociological issues, with emphasis on friendship networks, community attachment and community satisfaction. The data from the qualitative study is used to support and provide an explanatory basis for the information from the quantitative study. Relationships between the data and the integration of newcomers in a small community will be explored in the following chapter.

Characteristics of Newcomers and Long-term Residents: A Comparison

Length of Residence

As Vegreville is a rural community including both the town and the surrounding rural area the random sample included respondents with town and rural residences. The data indicated that 74.8 percent of the respondents lived in town, and 25.2 percent lived in the rural area outside of Vegreville. Those in the rural areas preferred to live in close proximity to the town, with 12.0 percent indicating their residence was located within a ten mile (16 km) radius of Vegreville. Newcomers were more likely to live 21-30 miles (40-50 km) away.

Using an open-ended question respondents were asked the number of years they had resided in Vegreville. The frequencies for the total sample and the long-term and newcomer groups were calculated. Data indicated that the largest proportion of newcomers to Vegreville had moved to the community in the past fifteen years (Table 9). 61.8 percent of newcomers had lived in Vegreville less than ten years, while 82.7 percent of the long-term residents had lived in Vegreville for twenty years or more. The longest term of residency identified in the sample was 71 years.

Table 9. YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN VEGREVILLE BY GROUP (%).

Years of Residence	Newcomers n=55	Long-term residents n=52	All Respondents n=107
1-5 years	18.2%	0.0%	9.3%
6-10 years	43.6%	0.0%	22.4%
11-15 years	36.4%	0.0%	18.7%
16-20 years	0.0%	15.4%	7.5%
21-25 years	0.0%	82.7%	40.1%
No response	1.8%	1.9%	1.9%
	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%

While the frequencies provided information regarding the distribution for the number of years newcomers and long-term residents had lived in Vegreville, it did not provide any indication as to whether or not the observed differences were significant. To determine this, t-testing was used to compare the group means. The means for years of residency were 8.9 years for the newcomers and 34 years for the long-term residents. The t-test indicated that at a significance level of .05 we would accept that the means for the two populations were different. On average, long-term residents had lived in Vegreville 25.1 years longer than newcomers.

The next residential characteristic considered was the newcomer's place of origin. Data indicated that 45.9 percent of newcomers moved to Vegreville from other Alberta locations, with half of these from Edmonton.

Characteristics of recent migrants differ from those of the long-term residents who either settled the community or have descended from the early immigrants. Prior to the early 1980's when Vegreville sponsored a number of Vietnamese families, very few members of visible minorities had moved into the community since the 1920's. Those migrants, of Western European and Slavonic extraction were considered visible due to their ethnic clothing. Data indicated that 27.5 percent of newcomers came from other Canadian locations and 7.5 percent from foreign locations (including some members of visible minorities). Information obtained through the interview process suggested that individuals belonging to minority groups who were more likely to commute from Edmonton than reside in Vegreville.

Age Distribution

The age distribution of the respondents (Table 10) differs slightly from the age distribution given by Statistics Canada for 1986 because of differences in categorical breakdowns for the age groups. Based on Statistics Canada data between 70 and 78 percent of the Vegreville population would be less than 60 years of age (this falls in the 55-64 age category). The number of individuals participating in the research indicated that 89.1 percent of newcomers and 59.6 percent of long-term residents were less than 60 years of age (significant at .05).

Differences in age distribution of the newcomer and long-term resident groups indicated that the in-migration which occurred in Vegreville in the past fifteen years was composed primarily of young adults and those in their middle years. In comparison, the sample of long-term residents of Vegreville indicated a bias toward seniors. While the sample did not reflect the same age distribution for Vegreville as Statistics Canada, the age distributions for newcomers and long-term residents suggested the exploration of integration issues which were subject to temporal effects.

TABLE 10. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF NEWCOMERS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS (%).

Respondents' Age	Newcomers n=55	Long-term Residents n=52	All Respondents n=107
21-30 years	12.7%	17.3%	15.0%
31-40 years	25.5%	17.3%	21.5%
41-50 years	38.2%	15.4%	27.1%
51-60 years	12.7%	9.6%	11.2%
61-70 years	3.6%	11.5%	7.5%
71-80 years	1.8%	17.3%	9.3%
> 81 years	1.8%	9.6%	5.6%
No response	3.6%	1.9%	2.8%
	99.9%	99.9%	100.0%

Marital Status

Data collected indicated that 64.5 percent of the respondents were married. The largest proportion of married respondents were in the 41-60 age group (31.9 percent). The youngest age category contained the largest proportion of singles. These were people less than 40 years of age. The senior age category contained the largest number of widowed people (66 percent).

When the newcomers and long-term residents were compared there were differences between the age distribution of married individuals and those of other marital status. In the 18-40 age category newcomers were more likely to be married than long-term residents.

A problem encountered when comparing primary data on marital status with secondary data was to identify the number of single adults in the Statistics Canada data. The difficulty occurred because the Statistics Canada definition of "single" included persons under 18 years of age.

Family Size and Composition

The number of children living at home reflected the age and marital status of the respondents. 38.3 percent of the respondents had children under the age of 18 years living at home. The use of a contingency table indicated that 45 percent of newcomers and 30.8 percent of long-term residents had children living at home (significant at .1). One senior respondent indicated having a dependent handicapped offspring living at home.

The data indicated that family sizes ranged from one to four children. 39 percent of respondents had one child, 36.6 percent had two children, 14.6 percent had three and 9.7 percent respondents with children had four children living at home.

Education

Education was analyzed to provide information on individual attainment and factors affecting it. The distribution (Table 11) indicated that the years of education for Vegreville residents ranged from 4 years to more than 21 years. Correlations indicated a strong inverse relationship between age and education, with respondents over 60 years of age having fewer years of formal education (Table 12). These individuals were less likely than younger respondents to have a high school education. Overall, the largest proportion of respondents with post-secondary education were in the 30-40 year age category. The highest level of educational attainment occurred in the 41-60 age group which included the most of the individuals who had earned their doctorates.

TABLE 11. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY YEARS OF EDUCATION

Years of Education	Frequency n=107	Proportion of respondents
4-6	6	5.6%
7-9	8	7.5%
10-12	26	24.3%
13-16	36	33.7%
17-20	13	12.1%
21+	11	10.3%
No response	7	6.5%
		100.0%

TABLE 12. COMPARISON OF RESPONDENT GROUPS BY YEARS OF EDUCATION AND AGE

	Age Categories					
Years of Education	18-40 n=39		41-60 n=41		60+ n=20	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
4-6	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	30.0%
7-9	0	0.0%	3	7.3%	5	25.0%
10-12	12	30.8%	9	21.9%	5	25.0%
13-16	21	53.8%	12	29.3%	3	15.0%
17-20	6	15.4%	7	17.1%	0	0.0%
21+	0	0.0%	10	24.4%	1	5.0%
NR n=7						
n=107		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%

Secondary data obtained on Vegreville suggested that the number of people with post-secondary education had increased since 1976. This was supported by primary data in this research which indicated that 35.5 percent of the respondents had completed sixteen or more years of education. Differences between the levels of educational attainment for newcomers and long-term residents were significant. The means were 16.4 years of education for newcomers and 13.9 years of education for long-term residents (significant at .01).

Analysis of data on respondents who had obtained post-secondary education indicated that 67.3 percent of these individuals had attended university rather than a college or trade school. From this it may be inferred that employers in Vegreville select for university graduates. Of particular interest were the number of respondents who had obtained their doctorates (18.6 percent).

While the data were not directly comparable to the 1986 Post Secondary Qualifications from Statistics Canada (Appendix IV), they do support those findings in that a sizeable portion of the population had obtained post-secondary education. The preferred professions were related to engineering and the sciences (Table 13). When newcomer and long-term resident groups were compared it was noted that 65.6 percent of individuals with specialized post-secondary education were newcomers.

TABLE 13. DISTRIBUTION OF POST-SECONDARY ATTAINMENT OF RESPONDENTS.

Training	Frequency n=107	Percentage
Diploma	4	3.7%
Technical training	9	8.4%
Business	1	.9%
Bachelor of Arts	2	1.9%
Bachelor of Education	3	2.8%
Bachelor of Science	12	11.2%
Master of Science	4	3.7%
PHD (unspecified)	8	7.5%
No Response	64	59.4%
		99.9%

Income

Household income depends on two factors, the number of wage earners and the gross income of each wage earner. Data indicated that 41.1 percent of Vegreville respondents came from single income households and 39.3 percent from double income households (19.6 percent did not respond). A comparison of newcomers and long-term residents suggests a similar distribution of single and double income households, but newcomers on average have a higher household income than long-term residents. Personal characteristics such as age and education would be intervening variables.

Comparing the distribution of income in double and single wage earner households suggested similar patterns for both newcomers and long-term residents. Differences became evident when total household incomes were compared, with proportionally more newcomer households earning over $60,000 per year. Long-term residents were more likely to have a single wage earner household and a household income of less than $30,000 per year. This may be attributed to the number of seniors in this group.

TABLE 14. DISTRIBUTION OF SINGLE AND DOUBLE INCOME HOUSEHOLDS FOR NEWCOMERS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS IN VEGREVILLE (n=107)

Yearly Household Income	Newcomers		Long-term Residents	
	Single Income n=26	Double Income n=22	Single Income n=15	Double Income n=19
< $30,000	2	2	8	2
$30,001-40,000	5	1	2	2
$40,001-50,000	6	5	2	3
$50,001-60,000	3	2	1	3
$60,001 +	6	16	2	9
No Response n=25				

The mean income for Vegreville residents was in the $45,000 to $50,000 range (Table 15). A comparison of the mean income indicated that the mean was $55-60,000 for newcomers and $35-40,000 for long-term residents. The differences between the means were significant at .05.

TABLE 15. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' HOUSEHOLD INCOME.

Household Income	Frequency	Percentages
Less than $30,000	27	25.2%
$30,001-40,000	12	11.2%
$40,001-50,000	16	15.0%
$50,001-60,000	9	8.4%
Greater than $60,001	33	30.8%
No Response	10	9.3%
n=107		99.9%

Social Involvement

Literature suggests that social involvement is important in the establishment and maintenance of social networks. This is of particular interest with respect to social integration as it is through social contacts that friendships form. Of interest in Vegreville were the geographical distribution of friends, size of friendship networks and density of friendship networks. All of these were affected by personal characteristics of the respondents.

One objective in examining patterns of social involvement was to determine whether newcomers who differ from long-term residents in terms of personal characteristics exhibit different patterns of social involvement, which in turn, would affect social integration.

Local Friendship Networks

Fischer (1982) states that small communities influence the development and maintenance of friendships because people tend to become more involved in local activities (and organizations) than people in larger centres. This affects the social structure of the community as there are fewer people available for community service work and volunteer work. In a small community people come into contact with one another more frequently and given common interests, friendships develop. In general friendship networks in small communities are dense[33], with many activities shared with a small number of people. Other friendship networks that the individual associates with in the community are likely to include individuals he/she is involved with in the community. The small population increases the number of times individuals come into contact and consequently limits the potential for the development of new friendship networks.

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[33] Network density refers to the interconnectedness of individuals within the social context. Multistrandedness, which is often mentioned in conjunction with density looks at the number of different ways one person becomes involved with another.

Patterns of interaction change as the size of the community increases, with the density of the friendship networks decreasing. This occurs because individuals have more choices regarding who they socialize with and the circumstances under which the interaction will occur. On an individual basis, it is possible for a person to belong to many friendship networks, as contact with each network fulfils different personal and social needs. These friendship networks may or may not be interconnected.

Analysis of the data indicated that the respondents had extensive friendship networks in Vegreville (Table 16), with most respondents indicating many, rather than few local social contacts.

TABLE 16. A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF LOCAL FRIENDS INDICATED BY NEWCOMERS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

Number of Friends	Newcomers n=55 Frequency	%	Long-term residents n=52 Frequency	%	All Respondents n=107 Frequency	%
Few	8	14.5%	4	7.7%	12	11.2%
Some	10	18.3%	4	7.7%	14	13.1%
Many	35	63.6%	40	76.9%	75	70.1%
No response	2	3.6%	4	7.7%	6	5.6%
Totals		100.0%		100.0%		100.0%

When the size of local friendship networks was compared to the number of years of residence no significant difference was noted. Despite that, qualitative data suggested that some people established large networks of friends in a relatively short time, while others who have been in the community for a longer period of time still had small friendship networks. The difference may be explained in part by the number of local kin or by the intensity of friendship networks maintained outside of Vegreville. Personality differences, which are not measurable quantitatively, may also contribute to the size of the local friendship networks.

Spatial Aspects of Friendship Networks: 30 mile radius

Friends living outside of Vegreville were also examined. These were divided into two groups, those living within a 30 mile radius and those living further away. The reason for this being that improvements to transportation have made it easier to visit friends living outside the community. Within the 30 mile radius friends could include people who use the town as their primary service and social centre.

Overall, 37 percent of the respondents indicated that they had 10 or more friends living within 30 miles of Vegreville and 24.5 percent of the respondents indicated 5 or fewer friends living within 30 miles (Table 17).

TABLE 17. A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF FRIENDS WITHIN A 30 MILE RADIUS INDICATED BY NEWCOMERS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

Number of Friends	Newcomers n=55 Frequency	%	Long-term residents n=52 Frequency	%	All Respondents n=107 Frequency	%
Few	16	29.1%	14	26.9%	30	28.0%
Some	12	21.8%	9	17.3%	21	19.6%
Many	22	40.0%	24	66.1%	46	43.0%
No response	5	9.1%	5	9.6%	10	9.3%
Totals		100.0%		99.9%		99.9%

A comparison of the newcomer and long-term resident groups indicated that long-term residents had slightly more friends in the surrounding area. There is some suggestion that temporal processes increase the multistrandedness of the networks, so that as time spent in the community lengthens more people come to be known in different social contexts (Goudy, 1990).

Long Distance Friendships

The third group of friends examined were those living more than 30 miles from Vegreville. It was expected that newcomers and long-term residents would maintain different sizes of long distance friendship networks. One reason for this is that the more urban characteristics people possess, the more likely they are to have spatially diverse friendship networks. As newcomers are more likely to have urban origins, they are also likely to have larger long distance friendship networks. This was supported by the data, with 61.8 percent of newcomers having many friends living over 30 miles from Vegreville compared to 36.5 percent of long-term residents (Table 18).

TABLE 18. A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF LONG DISTANCE FRIENDS INDICATED BY NEWCOMERS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

Number of Friends	Newcomers n=55		Long-term residents n=52		All Respondents n=107	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Few	11	20.0%	17	32.7%	28	26.2%
Some	7	12.7%	9	17.3%	16	14.9%
Many	34	61.8%	19	36.5%	53	49.5%
No response	3	5.5%	5	13.5%	10	9.3%
		100.0%		100.0%		99.9%

Factors Affecting Geographical Distribution of Friends

The movement of friends away from the community was examined because it affects the geographical distribution of friendship networks and in turn, the time spent socializing outside of the community. In the case of highly valued friends, their exit from Vegreville would serve as a pull factor from the community with respect to socializing.

When asked how many of their friends had moved away from the community only 13.1 percent of the respondents indicated that *many* friends had moved from Vegreville. 49.1 percent of the newcomers indicated that a small number of friends had moved away, compared to 42.3 percent of long-term residents. The differences relate to the number of years residing in Vegreville and the size of respondents' local friendship network (including members of the extended family). Long-term residents indicated having a higher proportion of friends having moved away (19.2 percent) when compared to newcomers (7.2 percent).

Effect of Local Kin on the Development of Friendship Networks

The number of people known in the community is affected by the number of relatives a person has residing locally. The presence of kin affects both the diversity and the density of local friendship networks. Rieger and Beegle (1974) observed that as the number of local kin increased, the number of social interactions with non-kin deceased. Fischer's (1982) explanation for this is that kinship ties are maintained out of a sense of obligation at the expense of other social contacts.

The number of kin living locally are affected by the personal characteristics and career aspirations of the individual. As the socio-economic status of the individual increases, he/she would be less likely to reside in the same community as kin due to the availability of career enhancing opportunities elsewhere. Taking this into consideration, it was expected that long-term residents of Vegreville would have more relatives in the community (or the surrounding area) than newcomers.

The majority of the respondents (72.9 percent) indicated that they had very few family members (0-25 percent) living in or near Vegreville. Differences were evident when newcomers and long-term residents were compared. 92.7 percent of newcomers indicated having fewer than 25 percent of their relatives living in or near Vegreville, while 51.9 percent of long-term residents indicated very few kin residing locally. These data suggest that the presence of larger numbers of local kin would have a more negative affect on the development and diversity of local friendship networks for long-term residents than for newcomers.

TABLE 19. PROPORTION OF NEWCOMERS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS HAVING RELATIVES LIVING IN VEGREVILLE.

Proportion of Relatives in Vegreville.	Newcomers n=55	Long-term residents n=52	Proportion of respondents n=107
0-25%	92.7%	51.9%	72.9%
26-50%	1.8%	17.3%	9.3%
51-75%	3.6%	23.1%	13.1%
76-100%	0.0%	3.8%	1.8%
No response	1.8%	3.8%	2.8%
Totals	99.9%	99.9%	99.9%

Characteristics of Community Attachment

Activities performed in the community serve as the basis for social interaction with other local residents. While they do not affect the outcome of social interaction, activities provide individuals with a physical or social setting in which to begin the integration process. It is through this process that integration occurs and the individual develops a sense of attachment to the community.

According to Goudy (1990) length of residence was a key factor affecting community attachment. The longer the individual lived in the community, the greater the attachment was likely to be. Goudy saw this as a cyclical process with longer residency leading to the development of more selective social relationships, which in turn would enhance social attachment to the community. These feelings were expressed in terms of how comfortable the individual felt as a member of that community and sentiments on leaving the community.

Residential Factors

The first section of this chapter examined residential characteristics of newcomers and long-term residents of Vegreville. Findings indicated that long-term residents had lived in Vegreville an average of 34 years compared to 8.9 years for newcomers. Literature suggested that length of residence in a community was associated with emotional attachment to the community. Assuming this was true, it would be predicted that older community residents would have more intense feelings of attachment to the community.

When length of residence was compared to age, data indicated that seniors were the most likely to have lived in Vegreville for more than 20 years, although adults in the under 40 category also indicated lengthy residency (Table 20). Of interest were the number of respondents in the age 41 to 60 age category who moved to Vegreville in the past 6 to 15 years. The data suggested that the community was attracting migrants from those age categories at that time. Employment related directly or indirectly to the Alberta Environmental Centre would be the most likely factor for the in-migration as they arrived in when the facility began phasing in its operations (1977-1982).

TABLE 20. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN VEGREVILLE (N=107)

Years of Residence	Age Category 18-40 n=37	 41-60 n=41	 61+ n=23
0-5 years	7	2	0
6-10 years	8	14	2
11-15 years	5	12	2
16-20 years	2	4	2
> 21 years	16	9	17
No response n=6			

Interest in Community Affairs

An interest in community affairs is one aspect of community attachment. It is not restricted to rural communities, but occurs in places of all sizes. Interest can be expressed through involvement in politics, schools, social activities, recreation, basic services etc.

Respondents were asked to rate their interest in Vegreville affairs on a scale of one (no interest) to five (very interested). This was then compared to the years of residence, as temporal effects are considered indicative of community attachment.

The data indicated that 31.8 percent of respondents were neutral with respect to community interest. 61.7 percent expressed at least a slight interest in the community (Table 21).

TABLE 21. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN VEGREVILLE AND COMMUNITY INTEREST (N=107)

Years of Residence	No Interest n=1	Neutral n=34	Slight Interest n=9	Moderate Interest n=38	Very Interested n=19
1-5 years	0	4	2	4	0
6-10 years	0	10	3	9	2
11-15 years	0	9	2	7	1
16-20 years	0	1	0	6	0
21-25 years	0	0	1	1	4
> 26 years	1	10	1	11	12
No response n=6					

Differences between newcomers and long-term residents were compared for community interest based on the years of residence. Newcomers to Vegreville express a lower level of interest than long-term residents, with 55.5 percent of newcomers being neutral having moderate interest. Only 5.4 percent of newcomers were very interested in the community. In comparison proportionally more long-term residents stated that they were very interested in the community (30.8 percent). This supported previous research by Goudy (1990) that lengthy residence in a community is an indicator of greater community interest.

Activities in Vegreville

Social Interaction

Social interaction in the community is important as it leads to integration of the individual into the local social structure. In conducting this research one issue which was raised was whether the sample population to which the respondent belonged could be used to predict patterns of social interaction.

The data from the sample populations indicated that the respondents did much of their socializing in Vegreville, with only .9 percent indicating that they did no socializing locally. 34.6 percent of respondents did some socializing locally, 50.5 percent indicated most, and 8.4 percent indicated that all of their socializing occurred in Vegreville.

Both newcomers and long-term residents indicated more than half of their socializing occurred in Vegreville. It suggested that newcomers establish social networks within the community, but does not indicate who they socialize with. Information obtained through the interview process suggested newcomers were most likely to socialize with work associate.

Organizational Membership

Through the analysis of data, the frequency, duration and intensity of organizational membership were examined. Data indicated that people who are involved in organizations tend to have larger friendship networks than those who are not. This is because organizations bring individuals into contact with others who share common interests.

Cortese (1982) stated that when people come into a new community, one way for them to establish roots is to become active in local organizations. Data indicated that 73.8 percent of respondents belonged to organizations in Vegreville. A comparison of organizational membership and respondents age indicated that organization members were likely to be less than 50 years of age (65.3 percent). Despite this, 82 percent of the respondents in the sample over 50 years of age were organization members (Table 22). Particularly noteworthy in the sample were the number of respondents over the age of 70 years who indicated that they were active in local organizations.

TABLE 22. DISTRIBUTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY RESPONDENTS' AGE (N=107)

Respondents' Age	Organization Members n=78 Frequency	%	Non-members n=23 Frequency	%
18-30 years	10	12.8%	6	26.1%
31-40 years	19	24.3%	4	17.4%
41-50 years	22	28.2%	7	30.4%
51-60 years	7	8.9%	5	21.7%
61-70 years	8	10.3%	0	0.0%
> 70 years	12	15.4%	1	4.3%
No response n=6				
Total		99.9%		99.9%

Age related factors work both for and against organizational membership as they affect time available for social activities and the physical ability to participate. The lack of participation of individuals less than 30 years of age may be due to involvement in family related activities or that their social needs are not being met by organizations available in the community.

The situation differs for senior respondents who appear to be more active in local organizations than not. Literature suggests that older women tend to be more active in organizations, but this did not show up clearly in the Vegreville data because of the low number of female participants.

The number of positions held in local organizations was also considered in relation to the newcomers. The higher socio-economic status of newcomers in Vegreville suggested that they would become leaders in community organizations and would be seen as assets to the community. This was supported by the data, with newcomers to Vegreville being more likely to hold a position in an organization.

An examination of patterns of involvement in organizations indicated noticeable differences between the types of positions held by newcomers and those held by long-term residents. Data obtained in the interviews suggested that older long-term residents were willing to let newcomers take over the more demanding jobs in local organizations. One reason given was that through previous involvement long-term residents felt that they had met their obligations to the organizations. In addition to this, it was stated that the organizations benefited from new leadership, with new ideas and enthusiasm.

It was noted that long-term residents who remained active in administrative roles in organizations were less likely to hold formal positions (elected positions such as president or treasurer), preferring the role of a volunteer for groups such as 4-H, youth groups or church based organizations.

Services Used in Vegreville

One aspect of integration is related to daily activities which brings newcomers and long-term residents into contact with one another. Daily activities includes shopping, use of local recreational facilities and use of the health care system. The use of local services provides individuals with regular contact with one another leading to the recognition of locals and facilitates the formation of informal social contacts. While these activities are not indicative of social integration, they do produce a feeling of familiarity and belonging among the local residents. "Recognition" is one aspect of rural communities that people appreciate and place a high value on (Watkins, 1992).

Respondents were asked what proportion of their shopping was done locally for groceries, clothing and other items. Some differences between newcomers and long-term residents were observed, but for the most part patterns were similar.

Shopping

From the interviews it was apparent that most people were satisfied with the local grocery stores. Although the major chains were not represented in Vegreville, respondents felt that prices and quality (at least for specials) were competitive with those offered in Edmonton so that going to the city for groceries on a regular basis was unnecessary. There did appear to be some interest in going to the city to make bulk purchases.

Shopping for clothing appeared to pose more problems than shopping for groceries. Vegreville has a limited number of stores offering clothes, leading to a decline in clothing purchases made locally. Data indicated that nearly half of the respondents did at least some shopping for clothes in Vegreville, but very few did all of it locally.

Respondents being interviewed indicated that they found it difficult to find the apparel they wanted because of the limited selection. The problem in finding articles of clothing does not appear to be limited to any one age group or gender. One elderly gentleman said:

> Some of the businesses that were here, are not here any more. Clothing businesses, only one clothing store in town and we don't know whether it is good. A lot of people leave town to buy clothes elsewhere. I left town here a few days ago to go to Edmonton to buy a wardrobe because I couldn't get anything here.

The primary reasons for travelling to Edmonton to shop was related to a lack of selection of appropriate apparel locally. The problem is pervasive in smaller communities. As the population contracts there are fewer customers. As the number of customers declines, the shops cease to bring in articles that are low in demand or the store may close completely, depending upon its volume of business and the age of the entrepreneurs. Mention was made repeatedly during the interviews that if shop owners were older and business volumes were not sufficiently large, the businesses were closed rather than sold. This has created a cyclical situation, because as the selection of goods and services becomes more limited (Vegreville shares this problem), people leave the community to make their purchases, leading to a loss of sales for remaining businesses as people prefer to conduct the majority of their business in one place.

Respondents were also asked about purchase patterns for other items such as furniture and appliances. Differences in purchase patterns between the groups were significant at .05. The data suggested that longer-term residents were more willing to deal with local merchants even if it was more costly.

Long-term residents appeared to be more conscious of the need to support local business. One respondent who expressed this very clearly from the standpoint of the consumer said:

> I'm strictly for local businesses, because if I don't buy locally, if I don't support the local people then they will not be around. Then they will not contribute to taxes and services, which still have to be covered some how and so taxes will go up. So we shop in town all the time.

The problem is that people who have more time and the opportunity to shop in Edmonton will do so. While this does not have a direct bearing on the subject of integration, it indirectly affects it by reducing the number of people frequenting local business establishments (where newcomers could come into contact with other local residents). As well, as people are pulled to Edmonton to do their business they are also more likely to maintain social contacts there, thus reducing the time available for establishing or maintaining social contacts in Vegreville.

Recreation

Recreation is an important part of the lifestyle for most people. Different forms of recreation such as swimming and golf not only provide the individual with pleasurable activity, but provide an opportunity to meet other community residents. As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, people become involved in activities which interest them. If people do not find those activities in the community they go elsewhere. Through the interviews it was indicated that some individuals travel to Edmonton to participate in specialized recreational interests, but most are able to meet their needs locally.

Socializing

When individuals chose to do most of their socializing in Edmonton they generally give a very specific reason. For example, their career may leave them open to constant public scrutiny. In other cases, age and marital status or interests of the individual prevented him/her from fitting into the community. This was an issue for younger, single, well educated people. Well educated women appeared to be at a particular disadvantage and so consequently a number of them had chosen to move back to Edmonton and commute to work.

Application of Results

The results included in this chapter were a summary of the data collected for this research. The purpose was to provide a statistical basis for the discussion of factors relevant to social integration in the following chapter where a more intensive examination of the information will be conducted.

VI. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Introduction

The research in Vegreville raised a number of issues related to the integration of newcomers in a small community. The issues considered of importance were:

1. The personal characteristics of newcomers and long-term residents of Vegreville which would affect social integration.
2. The patterns of social interaction which contribute to the acceptance and integration of newcomers into the community.
3. The patterns of community involvement and social integration which contribute to psychological attachment to the community.

In the previous chapter quantitative data were used to explore personal characteristics of Vegreville residents and issues related to social integration. Statistical analysis was used to determine the variation occurring within a stratified random sample taken from the population of Vegreville. Limitations to the explanatory capability of quantitative data led to the inclusion of qualitative information obtained through individual interviews.

The purpose of this chapter is to integrate primary data obtained from the self-administered questionnaires and interviews with secondary data obtained during the literature search. The outline for the discussion will follow the format used for the presentation of results, with the main sections dealing with personal characteristics, social involvement and community attachment.

Comparison of Personal Characteristics of Newcomers and Long Term Residents

Information on the personal characteristics of newcomers and long-term residents in Vegreville were obtained using the self-administered questionnaires. Data collected examined the length of residence, age distribution, marital status, family size, family composition, education and income of respondents. A comparison of these characteristics were presented in the previous chapter.

Analysis of data indicated that differences existed between newcomers and long-term residents for these variables. Newcomers to the community tended to be younger than long-term residents, with 63.7 percent of them being between 31 and 50 years of age. Their mean years of residency in the community was 8.9 years, with 80 percent of newcomers moving to Vegreville in the past 6 to 15 years. Educational attainment of newcomers exceeded that of the resident population by 2.5 years. Their training also differed from that of the long-term residents, with more newcomers having post-secondary training in the sciences and engineering. Educational attainment was reflected in the incomes of newcomers, with more households indicating earnings over $60,000 per year. This suggested that proportionally more newcomers would be considered of a higher socio-economic status than long-term Vegreville residents.

These differences are particularly important as they establish the newcomers as a distinctive social group. The information also provides insights regarding the potential social success of the newcomers. Previous research has established that in-migrants of higher socio-economic status are more skilled at establishing new social networks following migration. Vegreville provided an opportunity to examine this process. High status migrants are an asset to the receiving community as they priorize the establishment of their social environment following migration. According to Fruedenburg (1982:151) they "tend to become leaders of the community clubs, churches, and business and voluntary associations; they tend to be seen as positive, community-building people, and their children often become leaders in the local school system as well." This being the case, it would be to the benefit of communities targeting new development to identify industry or agencies which would employ higher status in-migrants. In the long-term this type of growth in the local population would strengthen the social structure and stimulate the local economy.

The first variable which will be considered in this chapter is age of the respondents. Analysis indicated that differences between newcomers and long-term residents could be partially attributed to age and/or life cycle related factors. Variables which were examined in relation to age included education, income, family characteristic, social involvement and organizational membership. The ensuing discussion will focus on the relationship between life cycle factors and the development and retention of social bonds and community sentiments.

Life Cycle Factors

Age Distribution

Data presented in the previous chapter demonstrated a significant difference between the ages of newcomers and long-term residents in Vegreville. The difference suggested the exploration of a number of variables with age as an indicator of certain behaviours. While age is not a barrier to social integration it affects the social opportunities available to the individuals by limiting opportunities available to different cohort groups. Life cycle theory provides some insights into the relationship between age and variables used as indicators of social involvement in the community.

Havighurst's Age-graded Life Cycle Theory

Havighurst (1972) divided the lifespan of the adult into three groups and identified tasks to be completed in each category. His tasks for human development provide insights into the effect of aging on interests and social participation. The first category identified was *early adulthood* (18-30 years). During this period it was expected that the individual would begin a career, establish a family, take part in civic responsibilities and establish a friendship networks. Information obtained in

Vegreville suggested that until family commitments decline, individuals do not place emphasis on the pursuit of personal interests and the development of social networks. Respondents indicated that they placed higher value on time spent with family members than any other social or community obligations. The implication is that as social needs of the individuals are being met within the family they are less active in other social networks in the community (Shulman, 1975). During the interviews one male respondent indicated that his organizational involvement was limited to activities which coincided with breaks in his daily work schedule. Information from other respondents was consistent, with family obligations being priorized. Once family obligations and career stabilize there is evidence that social contact increases (Sollie, 1988).

The Havighurst's second category are the *middle years* (30-60 years), when priorities included assisting children to become independent adults, taking part in social and civic activities, maximizing career potential and adjusting to the aging process. Duties during this stage are balanced against each other due to time constraints. Depending on the respondent's stage in his/her career and family commitments social and civic activities may be limited.

There was some suggestion that *interest* in the community was greater for individuals in their middle years. Information from the self-administered questionnaire indicated that organizational membership of respondents in this category tended to involved in organizations oriented toward the interests and activities of children (Brownies, Scouts, Ringette, Home and School etc).

The last category examined seniors (age 60 and older). This was seen as a time to adjust to new social roles, reduced income, and changing physical and environmental needs. It was observed that the level of interest in the community increased with age. Interest reflected both the years of residence in the community and the time available for community activities. Data from the qualitative study suggested that seniors in Vegreville were very active. A factor which contributed to their social involvement were the number of activities available for them. Not only were there formalized activities, but there was also considerable voluntary involvement[34]. One couple stated that they were busier after retiring than they had been previously. In fact, they stated that it was possible to become overextended socially. Through discussion it was apparent that once it became known in Vegreville that you were willing or able to perform voluntary duties you got inundated with requests from local organizations to participate.

Havighurst's life cycle theory has several implications for social integration. The first is that life cycle related constraints direct newcomers toward others in the community who are involved with similar life cycle tasks. Similarities in responsibilities and goals facilitates social contact as deal with similar constraints. Secondly, individuals these individuals will be seeking similar gratification from their social contacts. The relationships will continue as long as each individual perceives the contact to have exchange value.

Data indicated that social needs and opportunities were affected by age and life cycle factors. Information suggested that social integration as a process was not experienced exclusively by newcomers. As life cycle processes are dynamic, the social interaction and social involvement of the individual changes. The implications for integration are that as needs for social interaction change the individuals will seek out new social contacts. To accomplish this, both newcomers and long-term residents would become involved with a variety of formal or informal social networks within the community. The people they come into contact with will depend on their age, education, career, family commitments and interests.

Social Involvement

The ability of newcomers to integrate into the social structure of the community was personal. Some newcomers complained about experiencing difficulties fitting into the social structure of Vegreville when compared to their experiences in other communities. The problem was two dimensional. The first was that the community has a strong Ukrainian cultural component which has supported a social network that functions independently in the community[35]. As a result newcomers were trying integrate into a social structure operating from a context they are unfamiliar with. Acceptance of newcomers into these networks would be slow unless they were ethnic Ukrainian and belong to one of the churches, had family members in the community or established social relationships with socially active residents who will serve as their mentor in local social networks.

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[34] Volunteering related to churches and youth activities (such as storytelling and 4-H).

Personal characteristics were critical to the social integration of newcomers. Social barriers to integration of newcomers into social networks dominated by long-term residents was likely attributable to educational, economic and social differences between members of the two groups. As interests separated them socially from one another they sought social relationships with people they shared common interests with. For example, professionals employed with the Alberta Environmental Centre would associate with other Vegreville professionals because of similar characteristics and interests. Interaction between newcomers and long-term residents would most likely occur in a structured social environment such as the church.

Establishment of Newcomers in Local Social Networks

The influx of migrants of higher socio-economic status to Vegreville changed the social associations of people within the community. Early efforts were made to integrate newcomers into the local social structure through the establishment of programs that matched families of newcomers with families of long-term residents who shared similar characteristics. While these programs were helpful, the newcomers had sufficient social skills and experience in living in new communities that they established their own social networks within a short time.

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[35] The social network for people of ethnic extraction in Vegreville originates in the churches. It is supported through church membership (Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic) and strong family linkages. With much of their social involvement originating in the church and/or with kin contact with other community residents is limited.

For newcomers the place of employment was the first place for social interaction to occur. This was particularly evident among newcomers associated with the Alberta Environmental Centre. The facility brought together a large contingent of people with similar interests, consequently friendship networks developed, allowing it to function as its own "social club". The pattern was repeated in other local facilities employing professionals. The result was that rather than being dependent on the community as a source of social contacts, newcomers developed their own environment for social interaction. Integration of newcomers occurred within local social networks dominated by other in-migrants.

Neighbourhoods were the second most frequently identified location for the establishment of friendship networks. They provided some selectivity for social contact as individuals (or families) living in different parts of Vegreville tended to be of a similar socio-economic status. Individuals interviewed indicated that they knew most of the families living on their street and socialized with them.

The neighbourhood was an important structural setting for interaction between community residents. The inclusion of neighbours and work associates at social gatherings gave people who normally would not meet, the opportunity to interact with one another. Respondents indicated that this allowed them to diversify their local friendship networks. The success of neighbourhoods as a structural setting for social integration was attributed to the informal atmosphere. As many of the newcomers were younger and had children the setting allowed all family members to participate. From the interviews it was apparent that considerable socializing occurs during the summer when large groups can meet outdoors.

Familial Effects on Development of Friendship Networks

The structure of the friendship networks of long-term residents and newcomers in Vegreville differed. Long-term residents tended to have denser local social networks. Network density for the long-term residents was greater than that of newcomers because their networks included local friends known in different contexts over many years and local relatives. Extensive family interaction negatively affects the development of non-kin friendship networks because the demands of kin reduce the number of "other" social contacts.

Information from the interviews suggested that having relatives residing in Vegreville eased the social integration of newcomers, but the sample size did not allow for conclusions to be drawn regarding their effect on the rate of social integration. While having family members in the community facilitated the integration of newcomers into the social networks of long-term residents it was not possible to determine the degree to which it would occur.

Size of Friendship Networks

Data indicated little differentiation between the number of friends that newcomers and long-term residents had in their local networks. Individuals interviewed indicated that the size of the friendship network they had in Vegreville was similar to the one they had in the community where they lived previously. Temporal effects did not prove to be significant to the size of friendship networks, as it was possible to have lived in Vegreville for a relatively short time and have a large network. Equally probable was living there for many years and having a small friendship network. Information obtained through the interview process indicated that network size was due to personal characteristics. For example, elderly respondents indicated that personal friendship networks had decreased in size due to mortality. One male, age 78, commented that none of his close male friends were still living. A newcomer with a small friendship network stated that the size of his network was due to personal preference.

Specialized Friendship Networks

The diversity within the population of Vegreville has contributed to the development of independent social networks for newcomers and long-term residents. Each of these were distinctive and reflected the personal characteristics of their members.

Friendship networks established by newcomers differed from those of long-term residents with respect to their specialization and density. One reason for this was that the pattern for establishing social contacts differed. Newcomers tended to utilize the workplace and local organizations as primary sources of social contact. The practice allowed for the rapid identification of other residents who shared their interests. This contributed to the integration of newcomers into local social networks largely populated by individuals who had also moved to Vegreville in the past 15 years. The friends acquired were not expected to meet all of the newcomers social needs, instead they only spent time together to share in specific common interests. This led to the social integration of newcomers into low density, specialized friendship networks (Fischer, 1982) indicative of urban social networks.

The social networks of most long-term residents would differ from this. Instead, their social networks would be dense, with friends sharing many social activities. As well, people within their social networks would likely know each other, increasing the multistrandeness of the network. One contributing factor to the higher network density for long-term residents was the inclusion of more relatives in the friendship networks. This decreased the number of non-kin social contacts made and reduced the number of non-kin in their friendship networks.

Seniors were also members of specialized friendship networks and consequently operated within a different framework than younger residents and newcomers. Their contacts were primarily with other seniors and family members. Contact between younger adults and seniors was not limited by a lack of opportunities, but rather by choice. After living in the community for many years, seniors found their social contacts fulfilling without becoming involved with newcomers.

The social networks used by the seniors were of particular interest as there were three distinctive social networks. These were defined in terms of socio-economic status and/or ethnicity. One group met at the Sunshine Club (formerly the railway station). Its members were wealthier, better educated and represented one religious segment of the community. The second group also had religious affiliations, but they were not associated with any specific denomination. The third group met daily for coffee at one of the local cafe's. This group was composed of long-term residents who had been meeting informally in the cafe for many years. Although members of this third group are seniors, lengthy residency rather than age was the criteria for "membership."

Social Integration through Organizational Membership

Organizational membership proved to be the most important factor for social integration in Vegreville. Participation in local organizations affected the length of time it took for newcomers to be accepted and the size of the friendship networks that were established. Overall, 73.8 percent of respondents were members of local organizations.

Information suggests that recent newcomers are readily accepted into the organization, but there were problems when the first wave of newcomers arrived. As newcomers became active in the community and began to infiltrate the ranks of local organizations there was some friction. Some long-term residents felt their social power was being surpassed. This sentiment was expressed through comments like: "Who are they to tell us how to do things,". The contributions of newcomers were apparent within a few years of their arrival,[36] with many of them initiating new programs or contributing to existing ones. In time, long-term residents came to accept the newcomers and the success of early in-migrants eased the way for newcomers who arrived later.

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[36] A partial list of contributions made by people associated with the Centre is in Appendix IV.

Through the interview process it was evident that organizational membership served as a key component in the development of local friendship networks. The selection of local organizations allowed people of similar interests to come together in a formal or informal setting, making it easier to identify individuals with the potential to be friends. Due to the size of Vegreville the number of organizations an individual could join were limited in scope, with the most popular being related to sports or the churches. A few professional associations also operate within the community.

The Role of Religion in Social Integration

In Vegreville the churches are a focal point for social and cultural interaction for newcomers and long-term residents. With twelve churches in Vegreville individuals interested in retaining their religious affiliation should be able to continue in their preferred church.

The number of churches in Vegreville also suggested that they were a readily assessable formal environment for social interaction. Individuals who were interviewed indicated that church membership made a significant difference to their acceptance in the community. They stated that "church was a good place to meet people" and that they felt welcome there. Meeting people in this social environment minimized barriers to social integration. Individuals who integrated into the Vegreville social structure in a relatively short time attributed it to involvement with a local church. Although no church dominated in the interviews, secondary data from the community suggested that newcomers joined churches other than the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic churches.

Integration through church affiliation has been advanced by the co-operative approach churches in Vegreville are taking. Churches rather than retaining their autonomy are now sharing facilities and clergy on special occasions. This was seen as progressive in Vegreville as religious friction has been a problem in the past. The most notable change in relationships were between the Ukrainian Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholic and Roman Catholic churches, which were philosophically opposed to one another. These churches now participate in common activities. Friction has also eased between the Catholic churches through shared use of the Knights of Columbus for ceremonial purposes.

Role of Organized Sports in Social Integration

The second most popular structure for social interaction was participation in sports. For professional men, golf was preferred, but there was involvement in a wide variety of other sports. In general hockey and ringette were the most popular sports.

The popularity of ringette in Vegreville is worth noting because it was introduced to Vegreville in 1983 by an engineer from the Alberta Environmental Centre. His daughter had been involved in ringette while they were living in Dartmouth. By 1984 Vegreville had two teams and the engineer who started the program became the (ringette) director for the region. In general this sport has been supported by newcomers to Vegreville.

The Effect of Family on Social Integration

During the interview process the role of family members in social integration was augmented. The consensus was that having children contributed to the social integration of newcomers into the community. Activities for children provided the parents with informal opportunities to socialize with other adults in the community. One reason for this may be that there are limited social opportunities for young adults in Vegreville. This appeared particularly important for homemakers as they have limited opportunities to socialize with others and develop their own friendship networks.

Social Barriers to Integration in Vegreville

A sentiment expressed in the interviews was that both newcomers and long-term residents were reticent about accepting newcomers into their friendship network in case they do not stay. Potential lengthiness of friendships was considered important. This attitude has implications for the newcomers, as difficulties encountered in developing initial social contacts in the community can influence the decision to remain.

A newcomer (in the past ten years), anticipating transfer of her spouse stated: "you start to close yourself off socially in anticipation of the move," intimating that new friendships would be short-lived and superficial. This attitude has the potential to isolate people anticipating out-migration and those just relocating in the community.

The year that newcomers moved to Vegreville appeared to be important. Newcomers who came prior to 1980 indicated greater difficulty establishing social contacts. The most notable example was one individual who recounted her experience in 1976. Following migration to Vegreville she suffered from isolation due to the loss of her social support system. Efforts to participate in local activities and form new friendships were unsuccessful. The first year in the community she joined curling. During the curling season none of her teammates asked her a single question about herself or took time to talk to her. It was unclear whether the situation was pervasive in the community at the time or if this was an isolated incident. For her, church involvement and the movement of friends to the community provided the foundation for her local friendship networks. There was some suggestion that her experience was not an isolated incident at that time. The current attitude toward newcomers, which is more accepting would be attributed in-migrants that arrived between 1976 and 1982. It is their presence which has made the integration of recent newcomers easier.

Marital status is a barrier to social integration in Vegreville, as the community is composed primarily of couples. This poses a problem for higher status single newcomers as they compose only a small segment of the population. The problem is compounded by the proximity of Edmonton, making daily commuting feasible. As a result of limited social opportunities higher status single adults may opt to live in Edmonton and commute daily to Vegreville to work. According to high status singles living in the community many of the commuters had lived in Vegreville, found it did not meet their social needs and moved back to Edmonton. The exodus of high status singles placed increasing social pressure on those remaining high status singles in Vegreville. A common complaint was that if they wished to socialize with single commuters they either had to meet with them at lunch-time or drive to the city to socialize.

Gender was also a social barrier for young, single, well educated women. The problem was a lack of suitable opportunities for these women to meet potential companions in an informal setting, the bars were not considered appropriate. While there were single, educated men in the community, it was apparent that some were not socially active (by choice).

Cultural Barriers to Social Integration in Vegreville

The Ukrainian culture in Vegreville has the potential to serve as a barrier to social integration. It was apparent that as the newcomers developed a better understanding of the culture and cultural traits, their feelings of being socially isolated from the Ukrainian component of the community declined. One newcomer stated that the negative perception some newcomers had of the long-term (Ukrainian) residents was due to a lack of familiarity with cultural traits. The most interesting example was with respect to patterns of verbal interaction:

> ...the Ukrainian people have a habit of being very assertive and gruff in their manner. And that, if you're not from that ethnic background, it sort of turns you off. You think "they don't really care for me." But underneath all that gruffness they are very nice people and very concerned people I would think.

It appeared that once the newcomers accepted this and ceased to take offence with cultural mannerisms, they came to enjoy the community. One newcomer who had in-laws living in Vegreville commented on how sociable the Ukrainian people were, once she got to know them.

Characteristics of Community Attachment

Integration of the individual into the community social structure is one component of community attachment. It is composed of social bonds (friends, relatives and organizational membership) which bind the community into a what is outwardly perceived as a singular social structure. The community as a social entity is not holistic, but instead is a construct derived from smaller overlapping social components. These smaller components include friendship networks, familial relationships, structured social contacts (through the place of employment) and unstructured social contacts (through local organizations). Social integration of newcomers is integral to the continuation and development of the community as it is through these interpersonal contacts that the individual becomes psychologically attached to the community.

Comparison of Variables Measuring Community Attachment

Goudy's research (1990) included an examination of personal characteristics on community attachment. His research was used as a basis for comparison as social integration provides the foundations for community attachment by defining social bonds that tie the individual psychologically to the community. Consequently a multiple regression analysis was performed to compare the effects of personal characteristics of the respondents to social bonds and sentiments.

Goudy's (1990) modified multiple regression (Appendix IV) examined social bonds in relation to independent variables that were considered important to the systemic model of community attachment. The independent variables identified were length of residence, income, and age. Goudy contended that these social bonds were related to sentiments regarding the community, with friends and acquaintances being indicators for the sense of community and the sorrow felt on leaving the community. He also stated that organizational memberships and people known were determinants for community interest. "These relationships generally are positive, indicating that greater attachment through social bonds leads to greater attachment through sentiments toward the local community." (Goudy, 1990:183) He noted that the exception to this was between the presence of local relatives and community interest, with individuals having more local relatives being less active in the community.

The dependent variables were subdivided into two categories. The first of these were social bonds which included the number of friends and relatives the respondent had living in Vegreville and their organizational affiliations. These variables measure the intensity of local social interaction. The second group of variables dealt with community sentiments. Respondents were asked to rate their attitudes toward different aspects of community attachment (social fit, sorrow on leaving and community interest).

Table 23 provides a summary of the multiple regressions performed on the Vegreville data. Information from each of the independent variables will be discussed individually.

Support for the Systemic Model of Community Attachment

The Vegreville data indicated greater support for the systemic model of community attachment than for the linear-development model. This model stresses the importance of length of residence, social position and life cycle stage with respect to psychological attachment of the individual to the community of residence. Of these variables, length of residence is considered the most important (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Goudy, 1991).

TABLE 23. MODIFIED MULTIPLE REGRESSION EFFECT PARAMETERS AND STANDARD ERROR OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES ON LOCAL SOCIAL BONDS AND SENTIMENTS.*

	Dependent Variables											
	Local Social Bonds						Local Sentiments					
Independent Variables	Local friends		Local relatives		Organization membership		Social fit		Sorrow on leaving		Community interest	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Length of residence	.028	.013	.014	.005	-.005	.002	.012	.005	.018	.005	.017	.005
Income	-.018	.031	-.008	.001	.271	.005	.006	.011	5.178	.012	.007	.012
Age	.014	.010	-.008	.005	-.004	.002	-.002	.005	.007	.005	1.945	.006
Education	-.012	.024	-.001	.008	-.004	.004	.014	.009	-.003	.009	.019	.010

R Square .025
Adjusted R Square .015
Sample Size n=107

*Effect parameters are considered significant at the .05 level.

Local Social Bonds

The left half of Table 23 provides information regarding the relationships between local social and three independent variables identified by Goudy. The independent variable "education" was included in the analysis of the Vegreville data as it was a important indicator of socio-economic status in this community. Local social bonds include the three dependent variables; number of local friends, number of local relatives and organizational membership. These will be discussed in relation to the independent variables; length of residence, income, age and education.

Length of Residence

Length of residence was positively related to two of the three social bonds measured (local friends and relatives). The strongest relationship between the length of residence and the dependent variables was with the number of local friends. Residential stability at both the community and the individual levels are important in the development of local friendship networks. Residential stability is necessary to provide a social environment which facilitates the development of social bonds that promote positive sentiments toward the community (Sampson, 1988). The rapid increase in Vegreville's population between 1976 and 1982 temporarily disrupted residential stability in the community, but in the ensuing years the number of entries and exits stabilized. The period of time following this disruption has allowed newcomers and long-term residents the opportunity to form stable friendship networks in the community (Rank & Voss, 1982). Data on friendship networks indicated that both newcomers and long-term residents had extensive local friendship networks supporting the premise that temporal factors were important. The relationship between length of residence and local relatives was proportionally weaker than the one identified by Goudy (1991) suggesting that other variables were influencing the relationship. In Vegreville intervening variables would include age of the resident, education and income. The number of newcomers who have moved to the community since 1976 has changed the proportion of residents who have extended family members living in Vegreville. Higher status newcomers moved to Vegreville because of occupational opportunities, as a result they were less likely to have relatives residing locally.

The Vegreville results also differed from Goudy's (1991) with respect to the length of residence and organizational membership. Data indicated that lengthy residence in Vegreville was negatively related to organizational membership. The implication was that the longer the individual lived in the community, the less likely they were to belong to local organizations. With age being considered as an intervening variable, data from Vegreville indicated younger residents who had lived in the community for a shorter period of time were the most likely to belong to local organizations. This was supported by the findings that newcomers utilized the social opportunities available through organizational membership to provide social settings for the identification of other residents with the potential to become friends. Newcomers with children also were active in local organizations, but were more likely to become involved in organizations which provided educational, social and/or recreational opportunities for their children. Older (long-term) residents tended to be less active in local organizations due to constraints related to the aging process.

Income

Income was negatively related to all three social bonds in Vegreville included in the Vegreville research. This differs from Goudy's (1991) results which only indicated negative relationships between income and the number of local friends and relatives. These relationships were expected as newcomers to Vegreville were of higher socio-economic status, and tended to be economically motivated. Economic motivation for migration also suggested that kin would not reside in the receiving community. The data in Table 23 supported this.

The data in Table 23 differs with Goudy's (1990) with respect to the relationship between income and organizational membership. Other research (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Goudy, 1991) indicated a positive relationship between income and organizational membership. The negative relationship in Vegreville suggests the existence of intervening variables. The variable which would have had the most potential for this was "education." Data from Vegreville indicated that educational attainment and income were related, with well educated newcomers indicating the highest household incomes. It is likely that these individuals devote most of their time and effort to career advancement rather than volunteering time to local organizations. As these individuals have strong social networks outside the community they would be less likely to become involved in community organizations because their social needs and interest can be met elsewhere. The combination of these factors suggests that newcomers with skills to offer the community would be unlikely to participate in local organizations because their income allows them the freedom to meet their social needs outside of Vegreville.

Age

Age was negatively related to the number of local relatives and organizational membership. Goudy (1991) also noted a negative relationship between age and the number of local relatives. In the case of Vegreville, this relationship would be attributed to two factors, one is the role of Vegreville as a retirement centre and the other is its new role as a centre for technology. The number of kin long-term residents have in the community has been affected by out-migration of individuals who were raised in Vegreville. As a result long-term residents, now in their senior years, may have few kin still in the community. While the situation differs for newcomers, the net effect is the same, they have very few kin living in Vegreville. In this case, it is these individuals who have chosen to live in a community other than where other family members reside.

The negative relationship between age and organizational membership indicated that advanced age in over 20 percent of the Vegreville's population was important. Goudy (1990:184) stated "involvement in informal community life declines in the later stages of the life cycle." This being the case, Vegreville data would supports the premise that advanced age has limited the ability of many seniors to participate in local organizations.

Education

The analysis of the Vegreville data included one additional variable, "education" which, when combined with "income" reflects the socio-economic status of the respondents. As the two independent variables are considered indicators of socio-economic status it was expected that their relationship to the dependent variables would be similar. This proved to be so, with both variables being negatively related to all three indicators for social bonds.

Local Sentiments

The second half of Table 23 examines the independent variable with three measures of local sentiments; social fit, attitude toward leaving and interest in the community. The relationships which proved noteworthy were; age and social fit, age and interest in the community, income and the attitude toward leaving, education and attitude toward moving.

Age

Data indicated that the advanced age of respondents influenced two of the three measure of local sentiment. These were social fit and interest in the community. The relationship between age and social fit was negative suggesting that as Vegreville residents age they feel less able to fit into existing social structures in the community. This was expressed in the community by the development of social networks and social activities dominated by seniors.

The second variable, community interest, indicated a strong positive relationship. The relationship suggests that senior (long-term) residents in Vegreville are still very interested in what goes on in the community. The implication is that Vegreville seniors have a strong informal influence on decisions made in the community. It is worth noting that numerous seniors remain active in formal organizations in the community and due to their numbers in the community have retained a strong political power base which has ensured that their needs are met.

Attitude Toward Leaving Vegreville

The second measure of community sentiment of importance was the attitude of respondents toward leaving Vegreville (out-migration). The results were of particular interest because the independent variables together are a measure of socio-economic status. It would have been expected that the results would be similar, but they were not. Instead, the data indicated that as income increased there was a greater incentive to move away from the Vegreville. This may be due to higher income residents having acquired additional skills or experience in Vegreville which would make it easier to obtain employment in a more attractive location or that it may make commuting from Edmonton economically feasible. Data did not provide a plausible explanation for the negative relationship between attitude toward leaving the community and education.

Effect of Social Bonds on Community Sentiment

A second regression table prepared by Goudy (1990) examined the effect of local social bonds on local sentiments (Appendix IV). His findings indicated that friends were particularly important indicators of sentiments on leaving the community and interest in the community. He stated that,

> Organizational memberships and people known are most strongly related to interest in the community. These relationships generally are positive, indicating greater attachment through social bonds leads to greater attachment through sentiments toward the local community.
> (Goudy, 1990:183)

The exception to this was the presence of local relatives which was negatively related to interest in the community and produced the weakest positive relationships overall.

Table 24 presents a modified multiple regression table which examines the effect of social bonds on local sentiments in Vegreville using independent and dependent variables which are comparable to those used by Goudy. An omission from the Vegreville data was the lack of an independent variable which could be equated to Goudy's "people known in the community." The measures of social bonds used for the independent variables were local friends, local relatives and organizational membership. The dependent variables were social fit (equates to Goudy's "sense of community"), attitude toward leaving and community interest.

TABLE 24. MODIFIED MULTIPLE REGRESSION EFFECT PARAMETERS AND STANDARD ERRORS OF SOCIAL BONDS ON LOCAL SENTIMENTS.

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables					
	Social Fit		Sorrow on leaving.		Interest in the community.	
Social Bonds	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Local friends	.102	.037	.069	.038	.058	.040
Local relatives	.142	.108	.064	.113	.132	.118
Organizational membership	.081	.200	-.397	.200	-.667	.212

R Square .032
Adjusted R Square .022
Sample size n=107

*Effect parameters are considered significant at the .05 level.

Local Friends

Data from Vegreville supported Goudy's findings on the importance of local friends on local sentiments. According to the findings having local friends was important to the individual's perception of "sense of community" (social fit). This was supported by other data from Vegreville which indicated that individuals associate with small social networks operating within the community. Through the establishment of local networks the individual develops a sense of belonging in the community.

Data from the other two measures of local sentiments indicated weaker, positive relationships. Of the two, the sentiments regarding the sorrow on leaving is the most interesting. The presence of local friends is usually a strong factor binding people to the community. Based on Goudy's findings (Appendix IV), it was indicative of a sense of belonging and it effects on local sentiments would be similar to those of local friends. This was not the case in Vegreville. Data indicated that the presence of local friends hae relatively less effect on sorrow on leaving than it did on the sense of belonging.

Intervening variables for "sorrow on leaving" would include socio-economic status, education and ages of the respondents. The number of high status individuals in the sample provides a plausible explanation as these individuals are more geographically mobile. Their ability to move and establish new social contacts (Rieger & Beegle, 1974) would reduce their dependency on friends living in a specific community, thus sorrow on leaving does not measure attachment to Vegreville, but rather to the people. This being the case, place of residence is not critical for retention of social relationships.

The sentiments on "sorrow on leaving" suggest an explanation for the level of "interest in the community," with high status individuals being influential in the weakness of the relationship. These individuals would have high expectations of the community (Stinner, 1990) although they may not actively participate in its development. Consequently, they would not perceive interest in the community as related to having local friends.

Local Relatives

Analysis indicated that the presence of relatives was the most important independent variable affecting the strength of local sentiments held by residents. The results from the Vegreville data differ from the results obtained in Goudy's research (1991), with all of the Vegreville relationships being positive. Data suggests that having local relatives contributes to sentimental attachment. Information provided in the interviews supported this, with individuals having extended family members living in the community having more opportunities to interact with other residents. Newcomers indicated that having relatives living in Vegreville contributed to the development of friendships and a sense of belonging.

In Goudy's research (1990) a negative relationship existed between the number of relatives residing in the community and the interest in the community. In comparison the relationship between having relatives living in the community and interest in the community provided a substantially different result. The Vegreville data exhibited its second strong relationship between these two variables (Table 24). It is evident that having relatives locally in Vegreville contributes to interest in the community. This may be attributed to the relationship between the proportion of relatives living in Vegreville and lengthy residence in the community.

The relationship between local relatives and sentiments on leaving are similar to the relationship with local friends. Having family living in Vegreville, although significant, would not be a deterrent to out-migration.

Organizational Membership

Two of the three dependent variables on local sentiment were negatively related to organizational membership. These two were "sorrow on leaving" and "interest in the community." The results were supported by research by Stinner (1990) and Rank and Voss (1982). Research on higher status individuals (which made up a sizeable proportion of the respondents) suggests these individuals have different patterns of social interaction than other residents. High expectations of the community contributes to high status individuals being active in community affairs; however, this involvement does not contribute to sentimental attachment to the community. An interest in community affairs and subsequent involvement in the social power base serves as a means of ensuring that their needs are met while they residing in the community. While the objective is unlikely to be altruistic in nature, all residents benefit.

The second negative relationship, sorrow on leaving, relates to the objectives of the individual. As high status individuals frequently join organizations for social reasons, organizational membership does not psychologically tie the person to the community. Once membership achieves its purpose it is likely that the individual will refocus interests in another direction.

The only positive relationship in this group was between organizational membership and social fit. In Vegreville, data indicated that organizational membership was particularly important for newcomers as a source of social contact. In comparison, long-term members belonged to local organizations because of lengthy commitments to the organizations. Consequently in Vegreville while organizational membership produces a sense of belonging it serves different purposes for newcomers and long-term residents.

Vegreville: A Decade of Change

The social structure in Vegreville might have remained unchanged if not for the development of the Alberta Environmental Centre. The influx of new residents and their disruption of the local social structure between 1976 and 1982, forced dismantling of long-term social structures in Vegreville to facilitate the integration of large number of newcomers into the social structure. The volume of the in-migration forced long-term residents to come to terms with demographic, cultural and social changes occurring in the community. One participant said:

> ...whether they came here and changed it, or whether the people who were here in the first place changed it. I think it would not have mattered. The change was coming as it has to different sectors of our country. In other words, you can not stop progress.

The success of early high status newcomers in Vegreville reduced barriers to social integration for more recent migrants. People moving into the community now have fewer problems than the newcomers in the 1970's and early 1980's because the earlier inmigrants have established new social networks in the community. These networks are more urbanized than those of the long-term residents making them accessible to, and accepting of newcomers.

VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Research into the integration of high status newcomers in a rural community produced information which was unique, as it examined a group of in-migrants who tend to be overlooked. The omission was noted by Fruedenburg (1982:151) who stated that:

> Probably the major reason for the researchers' lack of attention to the more permanent newcomers is the fact that persons in this higher status group tend to have fewer visible problems in coping with or being accepted by their new communities.

Recognizing this, research into the social integration of newcomers in Vegreville chose to focus on individuals who were of a higher socio-economic status than long-term residents.

Research indicated that integration into local social networks was not a holistic process. Social integration as a process focused on the individual's ability to integrate into micro social structures within the community, not the individual becoming a part of a macro structure. In this context, the newcomer interacted with other community residents who belonged to social networks functioning within the community. Through this interaction the individual identified social networks in which he or she could become a member. Research indicated that the newcomer, rather than becoming a member of one social network would become a member of several local social networks.

The process of integration in this research was concerned with factors influencing the establishment of new friendship (social) networks in the new community. This included the establishment of a social niche which allowed for disposable income, related to higher household income allows newcomers to leave the community to continue these social relationships. These relationships differed from those of long-term residents whose long-distance social networks were composed of kin and friends who had left the community.

Implications

When decentralization projects are proposed, social concerns are expressed by individuals who will be affected. This is understandable, as migration separates individuals from their personal friendship networks and extended family members. The research in Vegreville suggested that the higher status newcomers possess the social skills necessary to establish local friendship networks within a relatively short time if they wish to do so. The establishment of these social bonds are beneficial to both newcomers and long-term residents. The failure to establish local social bonds following migration has implications for both the newcomers and the community. For the newcomers, a lack of local friendships may lead to adjustment problems which contribute to out-migration within a short time. A high incidence of short-term residents negatively impacts development of the community social structure because the establishment of local social bonds is dependent on residential stability.

The case of the social integration of newcomers in Vegreville indicates that the social structure of the community and its composite micro structures benefited from the in-migration of high status newcomers. By contributing skills which were in demand, newcomers strengthened the community as a local ecology[37]. As an organization for social life, the expanded population base was able to support a greater diversity of social networks, increasing the probability that future in-migrants

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[37] "...a collective organization through which residents in a small territory meet their daily needs." (Wilkinson, 1986:3)

The characteristics of local social networks newcomers established in Vegreville were also influenced by processes employed for the identification of potential friends. Three main sources were used. These were social contacts at work, in the neighbourhoods and local organizations. Newcomers to Vegreville indicated that organizational membership was the most efficient source for social contacts as it facilitated the identification of local residents who shared the newcomers interests and values. The organizations which contributed the most to the social integration of newcomers were associated with the churches and sports.

Patterns of social interaction differed between newcomers and long-term residents with respect to geographical distribution of friends and network density. In examining the sizes of local friendship networks maintained by newcomers and long-term residents differences were small. Interviews suggested that the nature of the relationships, rather than their size was important. The most important variable influencing the size of local friendship networks was the proportion of kin living in the locality. Individuals with many kin living in Vegreville and the surrounding rural areas had fewer non-kin in their networks, as family obligations took priority over other social relationships. Data indicated that long-term residents had more kin living in the area than did the newcomers. Based on this, it was assumed that the friendship networks of long-term residents contained fewer non-kin. Limitations imposed by familial associations of long-term residents and patterns of social interaction suggested that the friendship networks of newcomers would be composed of other newcomers to the community. This was supported by the data.

Social networks maintained outside the community also differed between newcomers and long-term residents. The primary reasons identified for this pertained to the personal characteristics of newcomers. Place of origin was an important factor, with newcomers retaining friends in the community or communities where they had resided prior to Vegreville. The difficulty in retaining long distance relationships suggested that only highly valued friendships were maintained. The availability of disposable income, related to higher household income allows newcomers to leave the community to continue these social relationships. These relationships differed from those of long-term residents whose long-distance social networks were composed of kin and friends who had left the community.

Implications

When decentralization projects are proposed, social concerns are expressed by individuals who will be affected. This is understandable, as migration separates individuals from their personal friendship networks and extended family members. The research in Vegreville suggested that the higher status newcomers possess the social skills necessary to establish local friendship networks within a relatively short time if they wish to do so. The establishment of these social bonds are beneficial to both newcomers and long-term residents. The failure to establish local social bonds following migration has implications for both the newcomers and the community. For the newcomers, a lack of local friendships may lead to adjustment problems which contribute to out-migration within a short time. A high incidence of short-term residents negatively impacts development of the community social structure because the establishment of local social bonds is dependent on residential stability.

The case of the social integration of newcomers in Vegreville indicates that the social structure of the community and its composite micro structures benefited from the in-migration of high status newcomers. By contributing skills which were in demand, newcomers strengthened the community as a local ecology[37]. As an organization for social life, the expanded population base was able to support a greater diversity of social networks, increasing the probability that future in-migrants would be able to find a social niche in the community. Collectively the newcomers' actions led to the establishment of these disperse urban social networks which in the long-term will contribute to the urbanization of Vegreville. The rate at which this will occur will be dependent on future in-migration to Vegreville and an expansion of the population base.

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[37] "...a collective organization through which residents in a small territory meet their daily needs." (Wilkinson, 1986:3)

Recommendations

The research on newcomers in Vegreville provided information on integration which may be used by individuals planning a move to a smaller community. The research identified processes which contributed to the successful, and rapid social integration of newcomers following relocation.

To integrate readily into a new community it was apparent that the newcomer must be socially aggressive. On entering a new community newcomers need to identify social settings which provide the opportunities to identify other residents who share their interests. This is accomplished by networking with the people they meet on entering the community. The workplace was one of the most effective environments for social integration. By initiating social contact with co-workers, newcomers can identify individuals who will be instrumental in the development of their local friendship networks. The second source of social contact is the neighbourhood. As people of similar socio-economic status tend to live in the same geographical area, developing friendships within the neighbourhood broadens the number of social contacts. This provides exposure to diverse local social networks.

The third environment in which social integration occurs is in local organizations. Most communities are able to provide newcomers with information on local organizations. This information may be available through contacts such as Welcome Wagon, Family and Community Support Services or through local newspapers. Using the available resources, the newcomer needs to identify local organizations which suit his or her interests and would potentially have members who share those interests or concerns. Organizational membership is of particular importance as it allows newcomers greater exposure to a cross-section of community residents than either the workplace or the neighbourhood, and accelerates the integration process.

For individuals or families who were active in the local church at the point of origin, establishing church membership in the new community assists integration as churches provide numerous opportunities for social interaction. The churches offer a semi-structured setting for social interaction, and because of basic tenets of the church, efforts are made to accept newcomers. Church membership was a significant contributor to social integration in Vegreville because of the strong religious component in the community.

When relocation involves a family, efforts need to be made to identify locally based activities for each family member. Integration is an individual process and poses different problems for each family member. By providing everyone with a variety of social opportunities, integration will occur more rapidly.

These recommendations, to facilitate social integration of newcomers, are of value in a town the size of Vegreville (population 5,100) which is sufficiently large to allow for anonymity, but small enough to limit the social opportunities of newcomers. Early identification of social opportunities available in the community, followed aggressively by participation in social settings contributes to the integration into the local social networks and assists in the identification of other residents for close social relations.

Future Research

This research only examined one aspect of migration, the integration of high status newcomers in a small community as a consequence of government decentralization. Completion of the research proved to be timely, with the town of Vegreville again being targeted as the receiving community for a federal decentralization program. The implications are that the community will once again be subject to a lengthy period of social disruption as newcomers arrive in the community and establish local social bonds. Available information suggests that the expansion will occur within a short period of time, suggesting that the growth will likely cause greater social disruptions in the community than the boom which occurred between 1976 and 1982. The opening of a new government facility, scheduled for April, 1993 would provide the opportunity to research social change initiated by a sudden increase in the number of professional people living and working in the community.

Additional topics for future research are more generic in nature, as they are less community specific. Issues which became apparent during the research process were economic and lifestyle issues. Both of these are of concern to rural communities as their traditional economic bases are being eroded due to extrinsic market factors. Research needs to focus on community based development which will provide economic growth without jeopardising the quality of life of local residents. More specifically, research needs to examine the long-term effects of development on different sectors in the community to minimize social and economic inequities related to growth.

Concluding Statement

The objective of this research was to identify factors important to the integration of newcomers into social networks in a small community. The issue was divided into two broad categories for research purposes. The first section examined personal characteristics of Vegreville residents to determine whether there were significant differences between newcomers and long-term residents. Research indicated that newcomers and long-term residents differed sufficiently that they could be considered subpopulations of the community.

Based on this information, the second half of the research examined patterns of social interaction of newcomers and long-term residents to identify processes affected the social integration of newcomers in Vegreville. Data indicated that patterns of social interaction differed. Newcomers were more active in local organizations as a function of their dependency on them as a source of social interaction leading to integration into local social networks. More qualitative data on the role of local organizations in social network development would have been useful to determine how they contributed to the integration of newcomers into diverse local social networks.

A second variable which warrants more research is the influence of kin on the development and maintenance of social networks. Questions included on the size of friendship networks in this research did not differentiate between kin and non-kin members of networks. As a result, it was not possible to determine whether long-term residents included more kin in their friendship networks than newcomers did. Nor did the question address the effect of time spent socializing with kin on the size and intensity of non-kin relationships.

This additional information, although not critical to the objectives of this research, would have provided a broader perspective of social interaction which may have affected the integration of newcomers.

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February 16, 1992 **APPENDIX Ia**

Adrienne Kisko
Department of Rural Economy
515 General Services
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta

Dear ,

My name is Adrienne Kisko, I am a graduate student in the Department of Rural Economy at the University of Alberta. At present I am working on my Master's thesis in Rural Sociology. My area of interest is in the social involvement of people in smaller communities. To complete my thesis requirements I am gathering information from people like yourself to study how you see yourself as part of the community.

You are one of individuals working for the Alberta Environmental Centre who have been identified as relocating in the Vegreville area just prior to, or after obtaining employment there. A questionnaire has been included in this package for you to fill out. In order for this study to be completed it is important that the questionnaire is filled out and returned to the University. For your convenience, a return envelope has been included (Provincial Courier may be used for its return).

On the last page you will note that space has been provided for you to indicate whether I may contact you for a personal interview. This would require about 30 minutes of your time. The purpose of this is to gather more information about how you and your family feel about the community and how you fit into it. If you are willing to assist me, please include your name and a phone number where you can be reached. An interview will be arranged at your
convenience.

Your co-operation would be greatly appreciated in furthering my studies. All information collected from the questionnaire and interviews will be kept strictly confidential, as it is only intended for use in the completion of my Master's thesis. Thank you for your assistance.

Yours truly,

Adrienne Kisko
Graduate Student

APPENDIX Ib

February 16, 1992

Adrienne Kisko
Department of Rural Economy
515 General Services
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta

Dear ,

My name is Adrienne Kisko, I am a graduate student in the Department of Rural Economy at the University of Alberta. At present I am working on my Master's thesis in Rural Sociology. My area of interest is in the social involvement of people in smaller communities. To complete my thesis requirements I am gathering information from people like yourself to study how you see yourself as part of the community.

Your household is one of 150 in the Vegreville area that has been randomly selected to participate in the study. The questionnaire (included) is to be filled out by yourself or your spouse (if married). In order for this study to be completed it is important that the questionnaire is filled out and returned. For your convenience, a postage paid, return envelope has been included.

On the last page you will note that space has been provided for you to indicate whether I may contact you for a personal interview. This would require about 30 minutes of your time. The purpose of this is to gather more information about how you and your family feel about the community and how you fit into it. If you are willing to assist me, please include your name and a phone number where you can be reached. An interview will be arranged at your convenience.

Your co-operation would be greatly appreciated in furthering my studies. All information collected from the questionnaire and interviews will be kept strictly confidential, as it is only intended for use in the completion of my Master's thesis. Thank you for your assistance.

Yours truly,

Adrienne Kisko
Graduate Student

APPENDIX II.

Case # __________

QUESTIONNAIRE I: A. KISKO THESIS: VEGREVILLE

Please **circle** the response that best describes you and your situation unless other directions are provided.

First, we need some information about where you have lived.

1. Where is your current place of residence? (**circle** one)
   1 VEGREVILLE (rural address)
   2 VEGREVILLE (town)
   3 LESS THAN 10 MILES FROM VEGREVILLE
   4 11-20 MILES FROM VEGREVILLE
   5 21-30 MILES FROM VEGREVILLE
   6 MORE THAN 31 MILES (51 KM) FROM VEGREVILLE

2. How many years have you lived in Vegreville area? **Write** the number on the following line.)
   __________ YEARS

3.[38] What was your permanent address prior to accepting employment at the Alberta Environmental Centre?
   (**circle** one)
   1 VEGREVILLE OR SURROUNDING AREA
   2 GREATER EDMONTON AREA
   3 OTHER LOCATION IN ALBERTA
   4 OUT OF PROVINCE
   5 OUT OF COUNTRY

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[38] Question not included in questionnaire mailed to respondents who were randomly selected from the Vegreville telephone directory.

Now we need some information about the people you associate with. This includes family and people you meet with socially (friends).

4. How many of your friends live within a 30 minute drive from your home? (**circle** the appropriate number)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

5. How many of your friends live between 30 minutes and 60 minutes drive from your home? (**circle** the appropriate number)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

6. How many of your friends live further from your home than a 60 minute drive? (**circle** the appropriate number)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

7. How many of your friends living further than 60 minutes drive from your home used to live in the Vegreville area?
(**circle** the appropriate number)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

8.[39] How many local people (individuals not associated with the Alberta Environmental Centre) do you meet with socially in the Vegreville area? (**circle** the appropriate number)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

8.[40] How many of your friends are people who have moved to the Vegreville area in the past ten (10) years? (**circle** one)

1 0 - 25%
2 26 - 50%
3 51 - 75%
4 76 - 100%

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Question not included in questionnaire mailed to respondents randomly selected from employees of the Alberta Environmental Centre.

9. What proportion of your relatives live in (or near) Vegreville? (**circle** one)
   1 0 - 25%
   2 26 - 50%
   3 51 - 75%
   4 76 - 100%

Next, we would like to find out about activities you are involved with in Vegreville.

10. Have you ever belonged to any organizations in "Vegreville"?
    (Include churches, clubs etc.)
    1 YES (Go to #11)
    2 NO (Go to #13)

11. Please **list** the local organizations you currently belong to (and any positions held). If none, go to #12.

ORGANIZATION	POSITION

12. Please **list** the local organizations you have belonged to in the past (and any positions held). If none, go to #13.

ORGANIZATION	POSITION

13. What activities do you think have helped you feel more like a part of the community? (Please **list**)

14. On a scale of 1 to 4 rate how well you feel you fit socially in the community? (**circle** one)
    1 NOT WELL (Go to #15)
    2 ONLY SLIGHTLY (Go to #15)
    3 REASONABLY WELL (Go to #16)
    4 VERY WELL (Go to #16)

15. What factors have prevented you from feeling that you fit socially in the community (**list** or **describe**).

16. On a scale of 1 to 5 rate how much interest you have in knowing what goes on in the community? (**circle** one)

NO INTEREST				VERY INTERESTED
1	2	3	4	5

17. What proportion of the following activities do you do in Vegreville? (Put a **check** in the appropriate space for each activity.)

	NONE	SOME	MOST	ALL
SHOPPING				
GROCERIES	____	______	______	______
CLOTHING	____	______	______	______
OTHER	____	______	______	______
RECREATION	____	______	______	______
SOCIALIZING	____	______	______	______

18. If you had to move away from the community for any reason, how would you feel about leaving? (**circle** one)
1 PLEASED
2 WOULD MAKE NO DIFFERENCE ONE WAY OR ANOTHER
3 MIXED FEELINGS
4 SORRY

19.[41] If you had a choice, what size of community would you prefer to live in or near? (**circle** one)
1 VERY SMALL (< 1,000 residents)
2 SMALL (1,000 - 4,500)
3 THE SIZE OF VEGREVILLE
4 SMALLER URBAN CENTRE
(Fort Saskatchewan, Lloydminster etc.)
5 MAJOR URBAN CENTRE (Edmonton, Calgary etc.)
6 MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREA (Vancouver, Toronto etc.)
7 SUBURB OF A MAJOR CENTRE (Sherwood Park, Leduc etc.)

The information from these last questions is needed for statistical purposes.

20. What was your age January 1, 1992. (**Write** the number on the following line.)
__________________ YEARS

21. Are you male or female? (**circle** one)
1 MALE
2 FEMALE

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[41] Ibid.

22. What is you current marital status? (**circle** one)
    1 MARRIED/COMMON-LAW
    2 DIVORCED/SEPARATED
    3 WIDOWED
    4 SINGLE

23. Do you have any dependent children (less than 18 years of age) living at home? (**circle** one)
    1 YES (go to #24)
    2 NO (go to #25)

24. How many children do you have in each of the following age categories? (**Write the number in the space provided.**)
    _____ LESS THAN 5 YEARS
    _____ 6 - 11 YEARS
    _____ 12 - 14 YEARS
    _____ 15 - 18 YEARS

25. How many years of education have you completed? Please include grades 1-12 and post-secondary education. (**Write the number in the space provided.**)
    __________ YEARS

26. Please identify the college, technical or university training/program you have completed. (**Use the line provided.**)
    0 DOES NOT APPLY
    1 PROGRAM: ____
    DIPLOMA/DEGREE ______________________________________

27. How many wage earners are their in your household? (**circle** the appropriate number)
    1 2 3 4 5 6+

28. What figure most closely approximates your yearly gross **household** income? (**circle** one)

1 LESS THAN $20,000
2 $20,001 - $25,000
3 $25,001 - $30,000
4 $30,001 - $35,000
5 $35,001 - $40,000
6 $40,001 - $45,000
7 $45,001 - $50,000
8 $50,001 - $55,000
9 $55,001 - $60,000
10 $60,001 - $65,000
11 $65,001 - $70,000
12 GREATER THAN $50,001

Would you be willing to participate in an individual interview which would take about 30 minutes. (**circle** one)

YES NO

If "**yes**" please include your **name** and a **phone number** where you may be reached. I will contact you for an interview in the near future.

NAME: ______________________________
PHONE NUMBER: ______________________

Thank you for your co-operation.

Please return before: **April 10, 1992.**

APPENDIX III

Guide for Vegreville Interviews

1. Tell me about yourself, your family and what you do in Vegreville.
2. What are your general feelings about living in Vegreville in comparison to where you have lived previously.
3. How do long-term residents feel about the new people that have come into the community?
4. What type of problems do newcomers to this community experience?
5. How do various local organizations ease the entry of newcomers into the community?
6. What do you like/dislike most about living in Vegreville?
7. How will you feel when you have to move from Vegreville?
8. What size of community would you like to live in?

APPENDIX IV

TABLE 25. COMPARISON OF ALBERTA TOWN POPULATIONS, THREE TIME PERIODS

	Population by Year		
Town	1976	1981	1986
Airdrie	1,414	8,414	10,390
Bonnyville	2,948	4,454	5,470
Brooks	6,387	9,421	9,460
Coaldale	3,667	4,579	4,796
Cochrane	1,486	3,544	4,190
Drayton Valley	4,378	5,042	5,290
Edson	4,058	5,835	7,323
Grande Cache	4,116	4,523	3,646
High River	3,612	4,792	5,096
Hinton	6,731	8,342	8,629
Innisfail	2,994	5,247	5,535
Lacombe	4,034	5,591	6,080
Lloydminster	5,818	8,997	10,201
Morinville	2,105	4,657	5,364
Okotoks	1,815	3,847	5,364
Olds	3,697	4,813	4,871
Peace River	4,913	5,907	6,288
Ponoka	4,642	5,221	5,473
Rocky Mountain House	3,680	4,698	5,182
Slave Lake	3,561	4,506	5,429
Spruce Grove	6,996	10,326	11,918
St. Paul	4,351	4,884	5,030
Stettler	4,188	5,136	5,147
Stony Plain	2,859	4,839	5,802
Taber	5,300	5,988	6,382
Vegreville	4,209	5,251	5,276
Wainwright	3,895	4,266	4,665
Westlock	3,726	4,424	4,532
Wetaskawin	6,766	9,597	10,071
Whitecourt	3,878	5,585	5,737

TABLE 26. ESTIMATED POPULATION INCREASE FROM ALL SOURCES
(A) High Estimate

	Direct & Induced Migration		Normal	Natural Increase		
Year	ELRC	Ezee-On	Migration	Migrants	Population	Total
1976	53	44	40	2	-7	132
1977	64	63	41	2	10	180
1978	205	60	43	4	29	341
1979	285	20	46	5	54	410
1980	210	10	49	4	79	362
1981	64	--	54	2	110	230
1982	20	--	56	1	129	206
Total	901	197	329	20	404	1,851

(University of Calgary, Table III:II-15)

TABLE 27. ESTIMATED POPULATION INCREASE FROM ALL SOURCES
(b) Low Estimate

	Direct & Induced Migration		Normal	Natural Increase		
Year	ELRC	Ezee-On	Migration	Migrants	Population	Total
1976	38	30	40	1	-7	102
1977	46	36	41	2	9	134
1978	149	40	42	3	28	262
1979	207	11	45	4	52	319
1980	152	5	48	3	76	284
1981	46	--	51	1	98	196
1982	15	--	53	1	118	187
Total	653	122	320	20	374	1,484

(University of Calgary, Table III:II-15)

TABLE 28. DIRECT POPULATION INCREASE DUE TO THE CENTRE

Year	ELRC Jobs Created	Positions to New Residents (A)	Positions to New Residents (B)	Families of New Residents (A)	Families of New Residents (B)	Total Direct Population Increase (A)	Total Direct Population Increase (B)
1976	20	16	12	29	21	45	33
1977	20	16	12	29	21	45	33
1978	70	57	41	102	73	159	114
1979	90	73	53	131	94	204	147
1980	50	41	29	72	53	113	82
1981	--	--	--	--	--	---	---
	250	203	147	363	262	556	409

(A) high estimate
(B) low estimate

(University of Calgary, Table III:II-12)

TABLE 29. POST-SECONDARY QUALIFICATIONS OF PERSONS LIVING IN VEGREVILLE, 1986

Post Secondary Qualifications	Male	Female	Total
Education, Recreation, Counselling Services	60	130	190
Fine & Applied Arts	--	20	20
Humanities & Related Fields	25	30	50
Social Science & Related Fields	30	35	65*
Communications, Management & Business Administration	30	145	175*
Agriculture & Biological Science/ Technologies	60	55	115*
Engineering & Applied Science	35	--	35*
Engineering & Applied Technologies	395	20	415*
Health profession, Science & Technologies	30	150	180*
Math & Physical Science	35	5	40
Totals	695	590	1,285

(Statistics Canada, 94-118:193)

* Indicates post-secondary classifications which may include personnel from the Alberta Environmental Center.

TABLE 30. OCCUPATIONAL MAJOR GROUPS, 1981.

Occupational Major Groups	Male	Female	Total
Total Labour Force	1,335	990	2,325
Managerial,administrative	135	25	165
Natural Sciences, Engineering, Math	125	30	160
Social Sciences	---	25	25
Teaching	35	80	115
Religion	5	-	5
Medicine and Health	15	65	80
Artistic, Literacy, Recreation	10	-	10
Clerical	65	390	455
Sales	110	110	220
Service	75	200	275
Farming, Horticulture, Fishing, Trapping	115	15	130
Mines, quarries	95	-	95
Processing	-	5	5
Machining	50	-	50
Product fabricating, assembling	85	5	90
Construction Trade	260	5	265
Transport Equipment Operating	60	10	70
Other	100	10	110
Occupation - N/A	-	10	10

TABLE 31. OCCUPATIONAL MAJOR GROUPS 1986.[42]

Occupational Major Groups	Male	Female	Total
All Occupations	1,375	1,095	2,470
Management,administration and related occupations	180	55	235
Teaching & related occupations	30	80	110
Occupations in medicine & health	50	120	170
Technology, sociology, religion, artistic & related occupations	125	95	220
Clerical & related occupations	50	340	390
Sales occupations	85	110	195
Service occupations	105	260	370
Primary Occupations	110	10	120
Processing Occupations	20	10	30
Machinery, product fabrication, assembly & repairing occupations	175	5	180
Construction trades occupations	245	-	245
Transport equipment operations occupations	85	-	85
Other	115	5	120

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[42] Statistics Canada 94-118, p 195.

TABLE 32. MODIFIED MULTIPLE REGRESSION, PARAMETERS AND STANDARD ERROR OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES ON LOCAL SOCIAL BONDS AND SENTIMENTS.[43]

Independent Variables	Local friends		Local relatives		Organization membership		Sense of community		Sorrow on leaving		Community interest	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Length of residence	.39	.014	.381	.018	.065	.013	.210	.013	.171	.014	.094	.013
Income	-.030	.015	-.051	.015	.271	.014	.029	.014	.098	.014	.174	.013
Age	-.003	.015	-.05	.016	.123	.014	.138	.014	.120	.015	.087	.013

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[43] Condensed from: Goudy, Willis J. 1990. "Community Attachment in a Rural Community," *Rural Sociology* 55(2):185.

TABLE 33. MODIFIED MULTIPLE REGRESSION EFFECT PARAMETERS AND STANDARD ERRORS OF LOCAL SOCIAL BONDS ON LOCAL SENTIMENTS.[44]

	Sense of community		Sorrow on leaving		Interest in the community	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Friends in the community	.225	.013	.219	.014	.054	.013
Relatives in the community	.059	.015	.023	.017	-.046	.015
People known in the community	.252	.021	.240	.020	.303	.022
Organizational membership	.138	.013	.208	.013	.287	.012

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[44] Goudy, Willis J. 1990. "Community Attachment in a Rural Region." *Rural Sociology* 55(2):184.

TABLE 34. POPULATION BY AGE BY SEX, 1976.

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
0 - 4 years	130	125	255
5 - 9 years	130	150	280
10 - 14 years	175	165	340
15 - 19 years	165	200	365
20 - 24 years	130	125	255
25 - 34 years	205	215	420
35 - 44 years	180	185	365
45 - 54 years	200	220	420
55 - 64 years	235	320	555
65 - 69 years	140	150	290
70 years and over	300	305	605
Total	1,900	2,170	4,160

TABLE 35. POPULATION BY AGE BY SEX, 1981.

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
0 - 4 years	180	165	345
5 - 9 years	185	180	370
10 - 14 years	190	200	390
15 - 19 years	225	220	445
20 - 24 years	190	215	405
25 - 29 years	185	185	370
30 - 34 years	160	170	330
35 - 39 years	130	135	265
40 - 44 years	120	115	235
45 - 49 years	110	120	230
50 - 54 years	120	120	245
55 - 59 years	115	155	270
60 - 64 years	125	175	295
65 - 69 years	130	170	300
70 years and over	350	410	765
Total	2,515	2,735	5,255

TABLE 36. POPULATION BY AGE BY SEX, 1986.[45]

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
0 - 4 years	190	155	345
5 - 9 years	185	170	355
10 - 14 years	175	165	340
15 - 19 years	155	200	355
20 - 24 years	200	220	440
25 - 34 years	390	390	780
35 - 44 years	290	285	775
45 - 54 years	220	240	460
55 - 64 years	240	270	510
65 - 74 years	240	345	585
75 +	255	320	575
Total	2,530	2,745	5,276

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[45] Statistics Canada 94-117, p 193, 1986.

TABLE 37. TOTAL INCOME 1981 (15 YEARS AND OVER, VEGREVILLE)[46]

Total Income	Male	Female	Total
< $2,000	115	255	370
$2,000 - $3,999	105	295	405
$4,000 - $5,999	295	440	735
$6,000 - $9,999	265	285	550
$10,000 - $14,999	200	275	475
$15,000 - $19,999	235	105	340
$20,000 - $24,999	195	50	245
$25,000 and over	445	55	500

TABLE 38. TOTAL INCOME 1986 (15 YEARS AND OVER, VEGREVILLE)[47]

Total Income	Male	Female	Total
< $1,000	1,880	1,935	3,815
$1,000 - $2,999	75	95	170
$3,000 - $4,999	100	170	270
$5,000 - $6,999	45	115	160
$7,000 - $9,999	340	470	810
$10,000 - $14,999	235	275	510
$15,000 - $19,999	150	195	345
$20,000 - $24,999	185	190	375
$25,000 - $29,999	175	90	265
$30,000 - $34,999	90	45	175
$35,000 & over	130	65	460

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[46] Statistics Canada 94-117, p 197, 1986

[47] Statistics Canada 94-117, p 197, 1986

TABLE 39. VEGREVILLE: ORGANIZATIONS IDENTIFIED BY RESPONDENTS

Hobbies:	Fish and Game Pottery Gun Club Gardening
Service:	Hospital Lions Rotary Kinsman Masonics
Youth/Education/Cultural	IAEA Home & School 4-H Library
Church:	Protestant, Catholic, Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian Orthodox, Knights of Columbus
Sports:	Swimming Hockey Softball Golf Curling
Political:	Chamber of Comm.
Other:	Singles Sunshine Club (Seniors)

TABLE 40. SOCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF PEOPLE ASSOCIATED WITH THE ALBERTA ENVIRONMENTAL CENTRE[48], 1981.

Exhibition Association (member)
Further Education Council (members)
4-H (leader)
Storytime (organizer, storytellers)
Boy Scouts (vice-president, secretary)
Recreation Board (members)
Block Parent Association (chairperson, organizer)
Kindergarten Association (treasurer, president)
Skating Club (committee member)
Child Development Committee (member, co-ordinator)
Brownies (leader)
Library Board (chairperson, member)
Playschool Parent Association (president)
Bowling Association (member)
Soccer (coach)
Sesame Street Committee (member)
Church (warden, treasurer, youth group leader)
Sunday School (teacher, superintendent)
Weaver's Guild (organizer)
Pro-Ed Committee for the Separate School Board (member)
Beavers (leader)

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[48] Condensed from: Barrett, Marilyn. 1981. "Letter to the Editor," Vegreville, AB; Vegreville Observer. April 1, 1981.

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Bowling Association (member)
Soccer (coach)
Sesame Street Committee (member)
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